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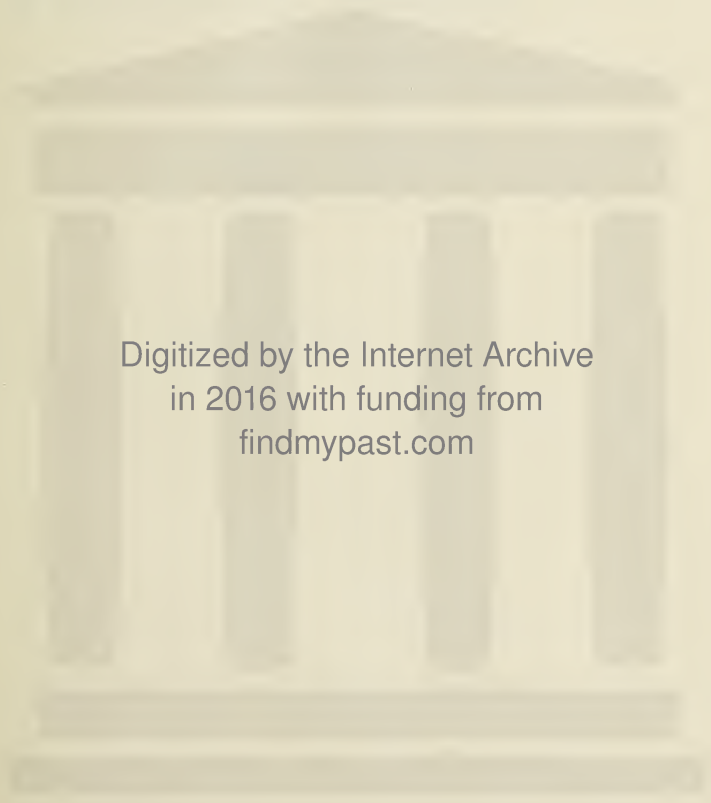
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*Journal*  
*of the*  
**ILLINOIS STATE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



VOLUME L

1957

*Printed by Authority of the State of Illinois*  
WILLIAM G. STRATTON, Governor

(75767—4-58)



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AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, UNDER THE ACT OF OCTOBER 5, 1917

*Journal*  
*of the*  
**ILLINOIS STATE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



VOLUME L

NUMBER 1

SPRING 1957

Published four times a year, Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter

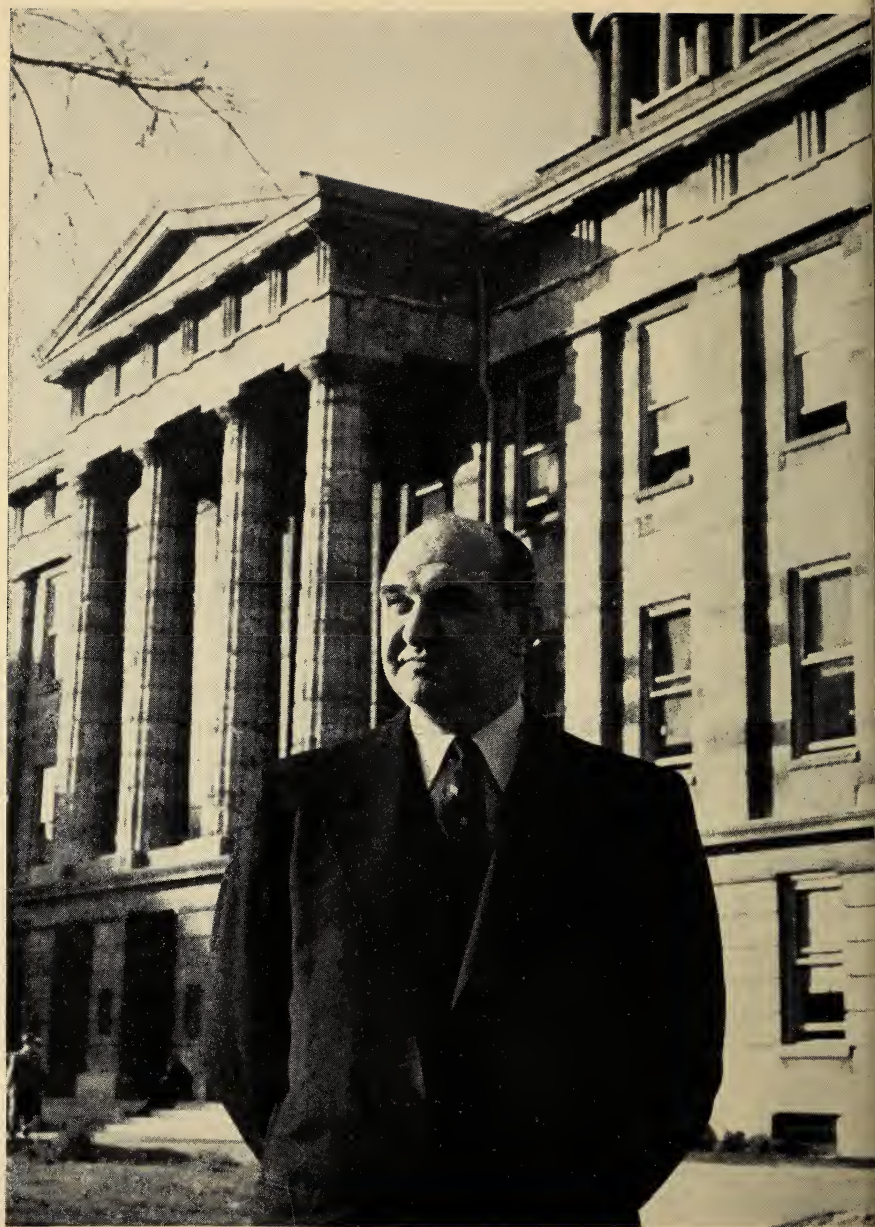
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BENJAMIN PLATT THOMAS

In the background is the Sangamon County Courthouse.

# BENJAMIN PLATT THOMAS

1902-1956

BY PAUL M. ANGLE

**D**EATH seems to be most tragic when it gives no warning. The suddenness of the announcement that came on the evening of November 29, 1956, that Benjamin P. Thomas had died that afternoon, gave a special intensity to the sorrow of his friends, while the fact that he was in the full vigor of middle age made his loss seem needless to the many thousands who knew him only through his writings.

Benjamin Platt Thomas died at the age of fifty-four. He was born on February 22, 1902, at Pemberton, New Jersey, the only child of Benjamin Platt and Martha Johnson Thomas. His father died when the boy was two years old. After two years of widowhood his mother married Ernest Ward Pickering, a silk worker who soon gave up his occupation to enter the Baptist ministry. The stepfather took his wife's son as his own and provided a happy home for the boy, modest but comfortable.

After attending high school in Baltimore, where the family then lived, young Thomas entered Johns Hopkins University. There, majoring in economics, he made a scholastic record that won him election to the Phi Beta Kappa Society in his senior year. But he was no grind. In addition to being a convivial member of the Delta Upsilon fraternity he was a first-rate second baseman, captain of the Johns Hopkins team in his last college year and a proficient semi-pro, under an assumed name, on Sundays. (Perhaps it should be explained, for the benefit of the uninitiated, that a college base-

ball player loses his amateur standing when he plays for money. In Thomas' case, the time-honored practice of using an assumed name was made the more advisable by his ministerial father's objection to Sunday baseball.)

After graduating in 1924, Thomas taught for a year at St. Paul's Choir School, a small private school for boys in Baltimore. He liked teaching, but the ascetic conduct required of instructors irked him. In the summer of 1925 he decided to put his academic training to use and went to work for a Baltimore investment house. Selling bonds was not especially difficult in the booming 'twenties, but Thomas soon realized that he had not found his life work. In the fall of 1926 he returned to Johns Hopkins as a graduate student. He had had enough of economics. For the next three years he would devote himself to history. Under the influence of John H. Latané, head of the department and an authority on American diplomacy, Thomas chose Russian-American relations as his special field. His dissertation, entitled "Russo-American Relations, 1815-1867," was duly accepted, and at the end of the academic year 1928-1929 he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The dissertation, published in 1930 by the Johns Hopkins University Press, caused no great stir, but a number of highly respected journals found space for notices. Two reviewers, one in the *American Historical Review* and another in *The Journal of Modern History*, complained that the author had used no Russian-language sources—he had not, in fact, learned the language—but such equally authoritative publications as *The International Journal of Ethics* and the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* praised the book as clear, scholarly, interesting, and a useful contribution to the subject.

By the time *Russo-American Relations* appeared, two important events had happened in Thomas' life. He had been appointed associate professor of history in Birmingham-Southern College at Birmingham, Alabama, and he had married

(December 26, 1929) Salome Kreider, of Springfield, Illinois, whom he had met while she was a student at Goucher College.

Thomas stayed at Birmingham-Southern for three years. He liked college teaching even better than he had liked teaching at preparatory school, and he soon became one of the most popular members of the faculty. He knew his subject thoroughly, he lectured fluently and with wit, and he had an easy approachability which, with his youth, appealed strongly to the student body. The college saw him leave in 1932 with real regret, tried to lure him back two or three years later, and in 1955 took pride in conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Literature.

On his part, Thomas had no dissatisfaction with Birmingham-Southern. He simply saw a more inviting opportunity in Springfield, Illinois. In 1932 the secretaryship of the Abraham Lincoln Association became vacant. Logan Hay, the Association's president, had a summer home at Old Mission, Michigan, where the Kreider family also spent their vacations, and through meetings there had come to have a high regard for the young professor's ability. Hay offered Thomas the position. The Association was a small organization which had functioned effectively for only seven years, but it offered more time for historical research and writing than an associate professorship. The change, moreover, attracted Mrs. Thomas. Thomas accepted, and took up his new duties in the fall of the year.

The new secretary's first piece of writing appeared in the December, 1932, issue of the *Bulletin* of the Abraham Lincoln Association: an article entitled "Old New Salem." A. L. Bowen, the discerning editor of the *Illinois State Journal*, paid a graceful and merited compliment: "Mr. Thomas is master of a most pleasing literary style and he has dressed an old subject in attractive new garments. In a long time I have not read a better written or more interesting bit of history."

The duties of the Association's executive officer were varied. He supplied information on Lincoln's life to all who requested it, served as a guide to writers and distinguished visitors, did what he could to obtain new members, and arranged for the annual meeting and dinner. But his principal responsibility was research and writing. In his initial article Thomas had pointed to the first subject he would undertake: the full story of New Salem and the restoration of the village that was then in progress.

In writing this book, as he admitted many times later, he learned the historian's craft. To produce even a paper under the close scrutiny of Logan Hay was something of an ordeal, but one learned more than any graduate faculty was likely to teach him. Thomas himself put it well when he wrote, in *Portrait for Posterity*: "Although Mr. Hay always insisted that the various Association secretaries should have full credit for the books that bore their names as author, a great deal of him went into everything they wrote. Constantly peering over their shoulders as they worked were his kindly but questioning eyes. As a critic he was unexcelled; with loose writing or loose thinking he was merciless. When one made a statement or offered a conjecture in his presence, he had better be prepared to back it up." Every sentence in *Lincoln's New Salem* was weighed and analyzed. Passage after passage was rewritten until it met Logan Hay's approval. In the process a competent piece of writing became a brilliant one.

The book was small and its publisher, the Abraham Lincoln Association, obscure. General recognition was not to be expected. Yet one of the country's most distinguished critics picked *Lincoln's New Salem* for a full-column review in the *New York Evening Post*. Describing it as a "fascinating piece of Lincolniana," Herschel Brickell called its publication an event no less important than the reconstruction of New Salem itself. "A contribution to the Lincoln saga of

the first order," he concluded. The book would go through four editions and is still in demand.

As soon as Thomas finished *Lincoln's New Salem*, he plunged into a second book: a continuation of the "Day-by-Day" series which had been started with the publication of *Lincoln: 1854-1861* in 1933. His assignment was the period, 1847-1853. One can hardly imagine a more disagreeable job of research. Thomas did not exaggerate when he wrote: "It involved an enormous amount of tedious, dirty work in newspaper collections, court files, legislative and congressional records, and a multiplicity of miscellaneous sources; but it did not lack thrills and satisfactions. The present writer . . . well remembers the days he spent in dingy courthouses, usually in the basement, turning the interminable pages of dusty ledgers, poring through grimy files long undisturbed. Invariably the clerks declared it was a waste of time—no Lincoln documents had been found for years. Yet, in every single instance documents were found, and in one courthouse they numbered a hundred or more."

The book that resulted from such labor as this—*Lincoln: 1847-1853*—was a reference tool, and though a valuable one, its publication went practically unnoticed. To this day the book has not received the attention it merited, for of the four volumes in the series, this alone had an outstanding introduction. The reader who wants the best account of these eight years in Lincoln's life, when the future President realized his long-standing ambition to serve in Congress only to see his political career fade out in failure, will find it here. Liberal excerpts from this introduction, reprinted in *The Lincoln Reader*, led Lloyd Lewis to characterize Thomas as "an independent researcher of Springfield whose discernment and originality of approach have long entitled him to greater recognition in the field."

By 1936, when *Lincoln: 1847-1853* was published, Thomas had served four years as secretary of the Abraham Lincoln

Association. Beyond question he had succeeded, yet he was not entirely satisfied. Routine work cut deeply into time for research, and personal responsibilities were making increasing demands. Mrs. Thomas' family had substantial property interests with which Thomas found himself becoming more and more deeply involved. He was discovering, moreover, that he had an aptitude for business, and that he liked it. After long reflection, he decided to resign his position.

With Carlos W. Campbell, Thomas formed the general insurance and property management firm of Thomas & Campbell. The partners soon found that Springfield offered an insufficient opportunity for property management, but they prospered in the insurance business. Before long the original firm consolidated with an existing agency to become Weller & Campbell, and thrives today under that name.

Thomas soon entered another occupation. In a property division Mrs. Thomas came into possession of a sizable farm twenty miles east of Springfield; her husband undertook to manage it. He knew nothing of farming but he learned fast, studying agricultural bulletins and periodicals, even taking short courses at the College of Agriculture of the University of Illinois. He poured fertilizer into the depleted soil, improved yields, and bought purebred Polled Herefords. Cattle shows came to be a regular feature of his life. In an amazingly short time he transformed a run-down farm into a productive and profitable one. This achievement, along with his personal affability, led to an honor which he valued highly: election as president of the Illinois Polled Hereford Association.

For eight years Thomas devoted himself to business and farming. His firm prospered, the farm prospered, and he became such an integral part of Springfield's business community that the Chamber of Commerce elected him its president. Yet history never released him. He maintained his memberships in the Mississippi Valley and American his-

torical associations, and the less-than-lively professional journals held a high place in his extensive reading. In 1944 he decided that more than anything else in life he wanted to write history. He disposed of his interest in the insurance business and set to work.

His decision was a courageous one. He could not know that he would succeed—his published output was too small to be an indication. He knew that he would raise some eyebrows, for Springfield would never quite understand why a man who could make money in an orthodox occupation would turn to something of such doubtful legitimacy as writing. And he would be lonely. The writer's calling is a solitary one, and oppressively so when unrelieved by association with those who accept his usefulness without question.

Thomas first thought of expanding his Russo-American study into a full-sized book. The end of World War II was near, and no one needed to be a prophet to be sure that Russia would play a large part in the world of the future. He soon realized, however, that he had been out of the field too long, and that the library facilities of Springfield could not begin to supply his needs. But for almost any phase of Lincoln's life the Illinois State Historical Library offered unsurpassed resources. The life of Lincoln had been his specialty. Why leave it?

A subject soon engrossed him—the biographers of Lincoln. How different they had been—the proper Holland, bent on making Lincoln an orthodox Christian; wild Billy Herdon, bent on making Lincoln an infidel; Nicolay and Hay, pledging their word to Robert Lincoln that they would strike from their work any part of it which he disapproved. Thomas would describe the methods and points of view of these men and their successors, and in the process, he hoped, do something to clarify the portrait to which all had contributed.

Nearly three years went into the writing of the book—three years which took the author from the Henry E. Hunting-

ton Library to the Library of Congress and to a dozen institutions in between. In the early fall of 1947 *Portrait for Posterity: Backstage with the Lincoln Biographers* was published by the Rutgers University Press, then headed by Thomas' good friend, Earl Schenck Miers. The critical reception was immediate and enthusiastic. *Time* and the *New Yorker*, highly selective media, gave the book favorable reviews; long notices appeared in the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Saturday Review*. Thomas was particularly pleased by a review in the *Charleston (South Carolina) News*, in which the reviewer, after confessing that he had always looked on Lincoln as "considerably less than a God," admitted that the War President emerged "more human and appealing than many biographers had made him."

*Portrait for Posterity* was a critical success, but its sale, while respectable, was not large. Thomas was disappointed though not discouraged. At the urging of Earl Miers he began to collect material for a book on the Abolitionists. Before he had progressed far he found that Theodore Dwight Weld, a half-forgotten leader of the anti-slavery movement, was usurping the story. Abandoning his original plan, Thomas turned the book into a biography of Weld which Rutgers published in the fall of 1950. Again the critical reception left nothing to be desired. The popular book review sections, "class" magazines like the *Survey Graphic* and the *New England Quarterly*, and the professional historical journals all found the Weld biography a highly commendable achievement. Again there was one review that gave the author a special chuckle: a favorable notice in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* signed Jefferson Davis Bragg!

But *Theodore Weld, Crusader for Freedom* stayed on bookstore counters. Commercially, the book was a failure. This time Thomas was discouraged. It is all very well to tell an author that he should find his compensation in the satisfaction that comes from a task well done, but such consolation

is rarely offered by those who have devoted three years of their lives and a considerable amount of money to the writing of a book that fewer than two thousand libraries and individuals are willing to buy. Better advice is that which several of Thomas' friends, and particularly Earl Miers, pressed upon him: Don't give up; keep writing and sooner or later you will come up with a book that will sweep the country. He decided to stick it out.

Thomas learned a lesson from the Weld biography. Weld was a minor character, and few people cared about him. To write a great book, one must have a great subject. What greater subject could one have than Abraham Lincoln? The time was ripe for a biography that would synthesize the results of a quarter-century of research and still stay within the limits of one volume. Miers, now on the staff of Alfred Knopf, tendered a contract, and Thomas plunged into the subject.

In little more than two years *Abraham Lincoln, A Biography* was in bookstore windows. (The time-span is deceptive: knowledge acquired over many years cut research and writing to a fraction of what they would have been otherwise.) To give even the merest sampling of the enthusiastic reviews is likely to tax a reader's patience. *Time* proclaimed: "To Benjamin P. Thomas, a college-professor-turned-Illinois-cattleman . . . goes the distinction of writing the best one-volume life of Lincoln since Lord Charnwood's version of 1916." Lewis Gannett (*New York Herald Tribune*) wrote that "henceforth, when the question is asked, 'What is the best single volume that tells the whole story of Abraham Lincoln?' the answer is likely to be, 'Thomas's.'" Sterling North (*New York World Telegram*) appraised the book as "a keen, perceptive, reliable, complete one-volume biography of Lincoln which should be in every home and school in America." Allan Nevins (*Saturday Review*) found it "much the best single-volume life of Lincoln yet written." "A truly excellent

piece of work," said Bruce Catton (*Cleveland News*) ". . . a permanent addition to our Lincoln literature—one of the finest additions that have been made in many a year." Gerald W. Johnson (*New Republic*) noted particularly its excellent English style, "plain and simple, but balanced and rhythmic that often rises into eloquence but never drops into bathos." Max Eastman (*The Freeman*) labeled it "the most exciting book" he had read in the whole publishing season.

This time the buyers responded. *Abraham Lincoln* made its way into the best-seller lists, climbed in rank, and held its place for many weeks. Foreign editions began to appear, and kept coming out until there were ten in all: British, German, French, Spanish (for Mexico), Slovenian, Greek, Arabic, Korean, Japanese, and Chinese (for Formosa). To Knopf went an Honorable Mention under the 1952 Carey-Thomas Award for Distinguished Publishing.

In a variety of ways, *Abraham Lincoln* brought recognition to its author. Lincoln College, Knox College, and Northwestern University conferred honorary degrees. (Illinois College had anticipated them in 1947; Birmingham-Southern would follow in 1955.) He was invited to join, and did join, the Phi Beta Kappa Associates. The *New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, and the *Chicago Tribune* asked him to do book reviews. He was in demand as a speaker; his graceful performances in this difficult role brought him more invitations than he could accept. In short, he achieved almost instant acceptance as a full-fledged, full-time, successful writer.

Thomas had considered, after finishing the *Lincoln*, a life of Stephen A. Douglas, but had turned instead to a biography of Edwin M. Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War. This he interrupted, however, to edit the Civil War reminiscences of Sylvanus Cadwallader. Cadwallader had reported the war for the *Chicago Times* and later, for the *New York Herald*. Late in life he wrote a long account of his experiences which,

after some years, came into the possession of the Illinois State Historical Library. There it languished, little used, until Earl Miers gave it a thorough reading and urged Thomas to edit it for publication. Knopf agreed. Thomas performed the usual editorial functions of cutting out repetitious passages, correcting errors, and supplying an introduction. In 1955 the book came out under the title, *Three Years With Grant*.

Within a few weeks, the editor found himself the object of a rough, relentless attack. The Cadwallader memoirs had attracted him by what he considered to be the author's "clear view of how the Civil War was fought at the command level," by Cadwallader's vignettes and appraisals of leading Union officers, his intimate picture of Grant. Thomas had not been unmindful of the sensational character of a passage describing Grant on a prolonged drinking spree, but he had accepted it as only more conclusive evidence of the Federal commander's already well established propensity occasionally to overindulge.

This was the passage, included in an excerpt from *Three Years With Grant* published in *American Heritage* for October, 1955, that touched off the controversy. The first letter came from U. S. Grant III, protesting strongly the publication of a story that he described as "fantastically untrue and scurrilous," and criticizing the editor of *American Heritage* for not having put it aside for investigation "before defaming unjustly one of our country's great men." (Thomas, familiar with the bibulous habits of the Fathers of the Republic, could not see why the story of Grant's binge constituted defamation.) The second and very much longer letter came from Kenneth P. Williams, author of *Lincoln Finds a General*. Here the attack was directed as much at Thomas as at Cadwallader. Williams not only questioned the editor's competence; he also charged him with deliberate distortion. Thomas was hurt deeply. He had admired Williams' work, and he could not understand why Williams' criticisms should be so personal and so bitter. Thomas' reply, published with the two

letters of his critics in the August, 1956, issue of *American Heritage*, revealed his wounded feelings. The subject still preyed on his mind at the time of his death.

Controversy, no holds barred, was not a role which came easily to Benjamin P. Thomas. When he felt compelled to make an adverse judgment in reviewing another writer's book, he did it gently. He knew how difficult it was for the biographer or historian to avoid error or misinterpretation, and he would be charitable rather than harsh. This was both his nature and his reasoned conviction. Speaking to the girls of Ferry Hall on the occasion of his daughter's graduation in 1953, he said: "The mark of an educated person is a certain humility born of the realization of how little he possesses of the sum total of human knowledge. There is nothing quite so tragic or so dangerous as the ignorant complacency of the man who knows it all." And writing, in *This I Believe*, of any fellow human being, he asserted quietly: "I do not blame his offenses on his race or his creed or his color, remembering that I, and men of my race, creed and color also fall short and offend."

It is not far fetched to assume that Thomas' basic convictions were derived, at least in part, from his long study of Lincoln's life. Certainly he believed as firmly as Lincoln in democracy, not only as a form of government but also as a social system in which all men had equal rights. "You, more than any other generation," he told the students of Ferry Hall, "will be called upon, again and again, to ask yourselves the simple but all-important question, 'Do I believe in democracy or don't I?' And if you answer 'Yes,' as I sincerely hope you will, then you must help to make the ideals of democracy something more than platitudes to be mouthed on suitable occasions." Those ideals were more than platitudes to him. He hated—literally hated—Senator McCarthy for his tactics and for the cleavage he rived in what had generally been a tolerant and unified people. He was deeply disturbed by the

failure of many Southern communities to follow the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, and seriously considered canceling an important trip to New Orleans not long before his death because of his revulsion at what he took to be human retrogression.

In the summer of 1956 Thomas began to suspect that he had cancer of the throat, but he did not seek an examination until the end of November. His physician confirmed his suspicions. Three days later, unwilling to subject his family to anxiety and anguish that could have only one end, he took his life. On December 1, after funeral services at the First Presbyterian Church, which he had recently joined, he was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery.

Here, perhaps, this account should end. But I must add a few paragraphs. Ben Thomas was my close friend for twenty-five years; Sally Thomas, his widow, is my friend; and I have watched George, Martha, and Sarah Thomas grow from infancy to maturity. If I were to record only the fairly obvious facts of Ben Thomas' life I would be false to the obligations of both biography and friendship.

In what I have written, Ben Thomas appears without the smile or chuckle that was never far beneath the surface. In life he was witty, humorous, even funny. One of his most appealing qualities was the gift of mimicry. He had an uncanny ear not only for peculiarities of English speech but also for dialect. I remember, on one occasion in Chicago, sending him to the barber whom I have patronized for years, partly because Joe is an excellent barber and partly because, after thirty years in this country, he speaks the most amusing blend of English, Italian, and American profanity that I have ever heard. Ben returned in half an hour and, as I had hoped he would, reproduced Joe's conversation to the last mixed syllable.

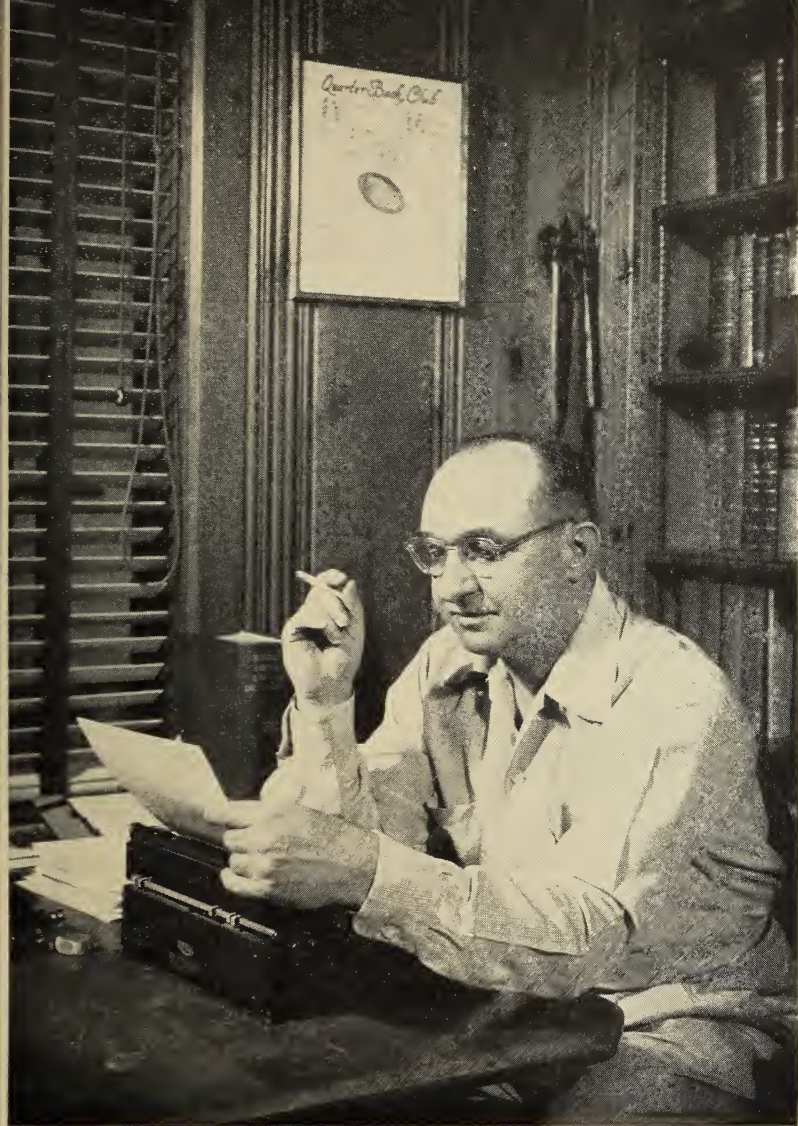
Ben could do, and often would under a little stimulus, a monologue in pseudo-Russian that would bring tears of laughter to any audience. The dialect itself was amusing

enough, but the real attraction of the performance was the wise, witty, and ever-changing commentary that he clothed in comic language. I do not exaggerate when I say that I have heard nothing like it since the days of Will Rogers. The monologue, always spontaneous, sometimes produced an epigram or a hit that surprised even Ben himself. When that happened he would burst into laughter, and the performance would stop until the performer recovered his composure.

He loved to sing, especially the old evangelical hymns and the popular music of that idyllic period that came to an end with the first World War. One of the most vivid memories of a long friendship is a night at the "Gay Nineties" in New York. There the entertainment was—and I suppose still is—songs of fifty and sixty years ago with the audience joining in. At "A Bicycle Built for Two" Ben's eyes would take on a soulful look, his heavy shoulders would sway with the music, and every now and then he would break out with what he called the "soft shoe"—a perfect vocal imitation of the sound of soft shoe dancing. Many times, around pianos in the homes of friends, I have seen him enjoy himself in the same way, all the while giving more pleasure than he suspected to others in the group.

He was adept at pantomime. He could impersonate to perfection the batter facing a pitcher who could smoke a ball in so fast that it would thud into the catcher's glove before the batter could take the stick from his shoulder. The routine included all the orthodox practices of the batter—knocking the dirt from cleats, hitching up pants, stepping out of the box a split second before the pitcher delivers—as well as facial expressions denoting amazement at the pitcher's speed and disgust at the umpire's ball-and-strike calls. I have seen Ben do it innumerable times, and it has never failed to transport me from someone's living room to a ball park.

The performance was symptomatic of Ben's interest in sports. Baseball was his first love. In the years when Spring-



Herbert Georg photo.

### BENJAMIN P. THOMAS AT WORK IN HIS STUDY

field had a team in the Three-Eye League, Ben and Sally were often in the stands. When the spring meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in a city with a big-league ball team, Ben and I usually managed to skip one session and take in a game, just as we often succeeded in working in a burlesque show in those cities where that now-

outmoded form of entertainment had survived. For years Ben followed high school football and basketball even to the point of accompanying the team out of town. In the last weeks of his life he had a running bet with a friend on the television boxing matches they both watched on Friday nights. The day before he died he wrote a note: "If 'Black Pants' wins tomorrow night, pay Al a dollar."

Ben liked cards, and recognized the fact that a little money on the outcome of a game gave zest to it. For years, with our wives, we played bridge every week or two. Ben played a game to my liking, meaning that every now and then he would ignore the conventions to make a wild bid that would either pay off in a high score or cost a heavy penalty. For years, too, he was one of a group of friends who played rummy—not fancy gin rummy but the good old saloon variety of the game—at each other's homes once or twice a month. Here the stakes were higher, but we were all evenly matched, and even with a run of bad luck no one suffered more than a few days' dearth of pocket money.

I must not give the impression that Ben spent an inordinate amount of time in such frivolities as those which I have mentioned. For every hour that he and I leaned over a card table I should guess that we spent at least two hours in more or less serious talk. (Given fluency, he would not mind my admitting, by a highball or a glass or two of beer.) Very often, but by no means always, our subject was history—its significance, its techniques, its practitioners. I shall never forget Ben's travail during the months Logan Hay subjected the manuscript of *Lincoln's New Salem* to his incomparable criticism.

After an evening's session, when we walked away together, Ben would explode: "Damn it, Paul, I can't be that bad!" But the next day he would manfully meet Mr. Hay's objections. In the end he would admit—more than that, he would volunteer—that the book was far better than it would

have been without those sessions that so severely taxed his patience.

Ben was particularly grateful for Logan Hay's tutelage because he believed that through it he learned a great deal about historical writing. On that skill he put a high premium. In his opinion, history was worthless if it was not readable. In his own writing he developed the faculty of self-criticism, revising repeatedly for clarity and movement, especially movement. He had difficulty with clichés—who doesn't?—and, like all formally trained historians, he had to guard against a tendency to academic ponderosity, but he knew his faults and generally overcame them before a manuscript reached final form. Stylistically, he was at his best when his subject permitted a glint of humor or touch of satire.

Ben liked the companionship of historians and writers. He attended most of the meetings of the principal historical societies—not because he would learn anything from the formal sessions, but because for a few days he could associate with men whose values were the same as his. He was especially fond of a group from Illinois College whose members had dubbed themselves the "One-Two-Three Club." (The reader will have to guess the meaning of the name.) When, in Chicago, the Civil War Round Table and the Caxton Club met on successive days, Ben could be counted on to be present. He spoke several times before both organizations and had many friends among their members.

He had friends everywhere. Everyone liked him—businessmen, cattlemen, historians, writers, publishers. He made no effort to impress or to be ingratiating; he was simply himself—kindly, gentle, humorous, interesting. It was a happy coincidence that on the afternoon we lowered his body into the grave the grass should still be green, the sun warm and golden. The day fitted his nature as the tomb of Lincoln, not far away, stood for his life achievement.

## THREE GALENA GENERALS

BY ELMER GERTZ

IF YOU had been privileged to live in Galena, Illinois, in the spring of 1861 you, too, might have become a general. Galena produced more generals than any other town in the country—more privates, too, proportionately. Galena had the war fever. It demonstrated patriotism, stamina, courage and all of the qualities which finally led to victory in the Civil War.

If you had been in Galena that spring, you would have noticed in particular a rather young man, somewhat short in stature but a bit heavy, dark complexioned, with dark hair, brooding eyes, and a voice which generally was low-pitched and modest. But when aroused he could speak like no one else in all Galena. He had been city attorney in his early twenties, and in 1860 one of the electors on the Douglas ticket. This man, John Aaron Rawlins, hadn't supported Lincoln; he hadn't supported any Republican; he had been a Douglas Democrat all his mature life. He was so filled with zeal for the Douglas cause that in the 1860 canvass he had challenged the other electors to a debate, and had done better against them, perhaps, than Lincoln had done against Douglas in 1858. It was a remarkable display of oratory.

*Elmer Gertz is a Chicago attorney and author and one of the founders and a former president of the Civil War Round Table of Chicago. This article is a slight condensation of a talk he made before a meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in Galena on October 8, 1955.*

Early in 1861 Beauregard's men fired on the flag of the United States at Fort Sumter, and there was excitement everywhere. Galena was on fire. Within days a great patriotic meeting was organized and everyone in the community was invited. Most of them came, including a rather modest, rather inarticulate, rather downbeaten man named Ulysses S. Grant, a bookkeeper and clerk in his father's leather goods store.<sup>1</sup>

Another who came to that meeting was Rawlins. A good many of his fellow Democrats told him not to come; they said this was going to be a Republican meeting and he had better not be there; still, Rawlins went. Advised not to speak, he said, "If I am called upon to speak"—and whenever he appeared he was asked to speak—"I am going to speak." Although he had been the attorney for the Grant leather goods store and Grant had talked with him, he hardly knew him and looked at him with curiosity when the call came from the audience: "Rawlins! Rawlins!" and Rawlins got up to speak. It was one of the great moments of Grant's life; if he had any indecisiveness about his role in the war, it changed at that moment.

Rawlins made one of the great speeches of the Civil War period: a speech which rallied everyone, regardless of party, regardless of previous views about slavery and about sectionalism, regardless of anything and everything. He appealed to the God of battles to aid the great cause of the North; he appealed to everyone to give his utmost. And one of those determined to do his utmost was Grant, who, until that moment, was a great failure in his own eyes and even more so in the eyes of others. Immediately after that meeting another one was scheduled, and Grant, much against his own wishes, was selected as chairman. Again Rawlins spoke; again he impressed himself upon Grant, and Grant learned a few things about him.

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<sup>1</sup> A history of the Grant stores in Galena and their various partnerships is in the Summer, 1954 issue of this *Journal* (196-98).

Rawlins had been born on February 13, 1831, in near poverty. When he was only fifteen years old he was practically the head of a household of eight children and a mother. His father was a sort of wandering minstrel, a man who was never known to refuse liquor in any form or to stay put when he could wander. His excuse the last time had been the Gold Rush, and he had wandered off to California, leaving his wife and eight children. Of course, he found no gold in California, but he did find a lot of stories. When he got back, he told those stories to everyone, including his children. John earned the livelihood for the entire family by burning charcoal and toting it around town.

With practically no previous schooling, he suddenly developed a great desire to get an education. First he thought of being a preacher, but finally decided on being a lawyer. He went for a short time to Rock River Seminary at Mt. Morris, and then worked in the law office of Isaac P. Stevens of Galena. Within a year he had become Stevens' partner and was on his way to success.

John Rawlins loved his father very deeply; at the same time, he was frightened of his father's habits, particularly of his habit of drinking. John swore that never in his life would he touch liquor. That was a very important decision, not only for young Rawlins, but in the life story of Grant. Rawlins' oath never to touch liquor was perhaps the greatest single factor which made Grant general-in-chief of the Union forces and subsequently President of the United States. Grant became very deeply impressed by this young man.

After the public meetings Rawlins and William Rowley, clerk of the circuit court, went around the community to enlist men in the Union cause. They brought together the first company organized in Illinois, perhaps the first in the entire North. Grant was so impressed by Rawlins' fervor that at nearby Hanover he made the first speech that he had ever delivered in his life; he was nervous and did not say much.

Everyone wanted to name Grant captain of that Galena company, but Grant felt that he should not be named by election of men in the ranks as head of any company. Since he had been educated by the government at West Point and had served in war and peace over great distances, he felt that he ought to be called on by the governor of Illinois, the President of the United States, or someone in military authority to serve in a capacity befitting his education and training. So he recommended that another Galena man, Augustus L. Chetlain, who had been the first to enlist, be made captain, and Chetlain was chosen. Few of these Galena men had had previous military training; they were not West Pointers like Grant and they had not even served in the militia or in any military capacity whatever.

Rawlins at this time was filled with grief. His young wife had died of consumption, the great killer of those days, leaving three young children. But when a letter arrived from Grant, who meanwhile had been asked by Governor Yates to assume a post in the Illinois adjutant general's office, asking Rawlins to become his aide with the rank of captain, Rawlins accepted. Despite his personal affliction and the fact that a short while before Rawlins had been offered the rank of major, something about Grant impressed him when Grant impressed few others. Rawlins took this lower rank to be near Grant.

Grant and Rawlins became one of the great teams of history. Actually, it is unfair to talk of Grant without mentioning Rawlins. There have been some who have said that when you hit Rawlins' head, you hit Grant's brains—you hit the man responsible for Grant. That is not quite true; Rawlins was not a military man, though he learned a lot of military information. Grant later said, when Rawlins' commission as general was held up, that if Rawlins had been a line officer instead of a staff officer, and had been permitted to fight in battle, he would long since have been perhaps the most fa-

mous, or one of the most famous, generals of the war.<sup>2</sup> Grant also said in a letter to Senator Henry Wilson that Rawlins came nearer being indispensable than any other man who served with him.<sup>3</sup>

Grant had great military qualities, but orderliness in official matters was not one of them. In his *Memoirs* he said that his files were kept under his hat. Rawlins set about to organize everything about the camp, so that each aspect of military life was efficient and regularized and Grant could concentrate on purely military matters. Rawlins made himself the keeper of Grant's conscience, not merely on drinking, but on everything else.

Grant had issued an order barring cotton traders from his area because they disrupted and demoralized military operations; but one of the first traders to come into the department was one of Grant's own relatives. Rawlins hit the ceiling almost literally. He had the most eloquent strain of profanity ever known in Illinois history; it was his one vice, in which he exceeded all others, and by choice he spoke with profanity, whoever was involved. Without bothering to consult Grant, Rawlins ordered his relative out of the department post haste. Grant came up to Rawlins and said, "Haven't you been a bit hasty? Shouldn't you go a little more slowly?" Then Grant, who never swore, became the beneficiary of profanity such as he had never heard before. Translated into ordinary English, it meant that if Rawlins were commanding general and a relative of his had come to the camp in similar circumstances, he would have marched him a few miles out of camp and hanged him to the nearest tree. Rawlins closed this preachment to his commander by a final burst of profanity and went abruptly out of his presence.

Friends of Rawlins came to him and said: "You may be

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<sup>2</sup> Grant to Elihu B. Washburne, Aug. 30, 1863, in James Grant Wilson, ed., *General Grant's Letters to a Friend* (New York, 1897), 29.

<sup>3</sup> Grant to Wilson, April 4, 1864, in James Harrison Wilson, *The Life of John A. Rawlins* (New York, 1916), 140.

right, but you are guilty of insubordination and insolence. You really ought not to talk that way to Grant." Rawlins said that he felt that way, too, as soon as he had finished; he came back in a very manly fashion and apologized to Grant. Grant smiled and said: "Rawlins, I knew you were only vehement. I would do the same thing you said, but a little more gently." The relative was ordered out of camp.

Rawlins' principal occupation at times was smashing liquor bottles of officials who tempted Grant. When Grant broke his word to Rawlins about abstinence on one famous occasion—you can read Sylvanus Cadwallader's account in *Three Years with Grant*<sup>4</sup>—and went on a spree such as was never seen in his department, Rawlins sent Grant one of the most courageous letters ever written by a subordinate.<sup>5</sup> Very bluntly he told Grant his duty to himself and to the country, and made Grant promise again that never, in any circumstances, would he take any liquor. Most of the time thereafter—in fact practically all the time—Grant kept his word. Whenever Rawlins, Mrs. Grant, General James Harrison Wilson, or others who with Rawlins were the keepers of Grant's conscience were around, Grant behaved, and so was able to go on to immortality.

Wilson did not come from Galena—he came from Shawneetown in southern Illinois—and when he marched into Grant's quarters for the first time he was just a lieutenant. When he asked for the General, Rawlins said in effect: "The General isn't here, but I know all about you. I propose that you and I now form an offensive and defensive alliance to protect Grant."<sup>6</sup> And that is exactly what they formed.

In that alliance other Galenians like William Rowley participated. Grant had a deep and abiding faith in his associates whom he had learned to know in Galena. On one

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin P. Thomas, ed., *Three Years with Grant, as Recalled by Sylvanus Cadwallader* (New York, 1955), 103-10.

<sup>5</sup> Rawlins to Grant, June 6, 1863, in Wilson, *Life of Rawlins*, 128-29.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

occasion Rawlins told Chetlain: "I have just received a letter from our good old friend, Parson [Aratus] Kent, of Galena. Some fool or other has told him that I was swearing a good deal." He was ready to acknowledge that it was sinful to swear, but he said, "How can you run this God-awful army without swearing?"<sup>7</sup>

One person, however, did cure Rawlins of swearing, and that was Emma Hurlbut, whom he subsequently married. She was a Northern girl who was living in Vicksburg as a governess at the time of the siege. Someone with a sense of humor assigned Rawlins to act as a guard over Emma because some of the other officers, including some married ones, had been "making passes," as we now say, at her. Rawlins was so good a guardian that he proceeded to court her himself, and they were married.

To that marriage we owe some very remarkable documents. I have had the privilege of holding in my hands a large number of the letters that Rawlins wrote to Emma. They were all very closely written on large sheets of beige paper, and they were very peculiar documents characteristic of Rawlins. Equally balanced were love passages and sections describing every detail of life in the camp, all the technical details of battles, and everything relating to Grant's state of mind or of sobriety. Had any of these letters fallen into the hands of Southern generals they would have been most valuable for planning strategy. Grant marveled how anybody could write as frequently as Rawlins—for he wrote daily—and how anyone could read the small handwriting.

There was one other man near Grant who had a marvelous handwriting, but that was not the only reason Grant selected him. He was Ely S. Parker, a full-blooded Seneca Indian and the last Grand Sachem of the Five Nations. He had been born in Genesee County, New York. He wanted to become a lawyer, but after studying law he discovered that

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<sup>7</sup> Augustus L. Chetlain, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Galena, 1899), 98.

an Indian could not be admitted to the bar. So he studied engineering and became one of the distinguished engineers of his day. At the same time, though not admitted to practice law, he was an unofficial spokesman for the Indians, particularly those of New York. As a young man he was known in that capacity to everyone in Washington. President Polk was glad to have Parker as a guest at dinner, and Mrs. Polk would stop him in the street and pick him up in her carriage in order to talk with him.

Parker came to Galena as a government engineer and built the Post Office and the Marine Hospital. The people of Galena took this Indian to their hearts. He became Worshipful Master of the Masonic lodge. John Corson Smith, another Galena general, who succeeded Parker as Master, was so taken by Parker that he named one of his children for him.

Parker wanted to serve in the war, and if possible, with Grant. As a dutiful son he returned East and asked his father for permission; after hesitating a while the father finally gave his consent. But Parker found that as an Indian he had almost as much difficulty getting into the army as into the law. So he went to his good friend William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, a great libertarian and the one who had foreseen the "irrepressible conflict." Parker announced to Seward that he wanted to serve, and Seward, with great pontification, replied: "This is a white man's war. We don't need the aid of an Indian."

Perhaps Seward later regretted that remark, because in a short while Parker was called on to serve as a captain and quickly assigned to Grant's headquarters, where he became his military secretary. Parker was the one who wrote down all the documents in connection with the surrender of General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox. It is a thrill to find that Parker wrote the copies that are in Chicago's Newberry Library—now the only known copies since the originals have disappeared.

With those letters are Parker's annotations, giving much

unwritten history, for example: Grant's first letter was sent by General Seth Williams and an orderly. It was rather dark, and notwithstanding the white flag of truce which they carried they were fired upon. Thereupon the orderly fled for dear life, and General Williams had to risk his life to carry forward the letter. Curiously enough, nothing was done as to the violation of the flag of truce or to the cowardly orderly. Later when Grant himself with his staff went to meet Lee, they were almost captured, because they were beyond the picket lines. Other details are given, including the arguments between Rawlins and Grant.

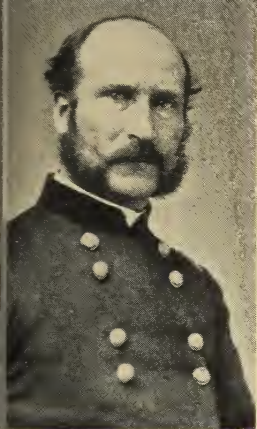
Grant almost committed the error into which General Sherman later fell in connection with the surrender of General Johnston—of trying to make political terms instead of simply military ones. Grant would have met with Lee to discuss peace terms had not Rawlins as a shrewd lawyer been able to persuade him into refusing to go unless Lee understood in advance that the only purpose was a military surrender.<sup>8</sup>

After the war, both Parker and Rawlins remained close to Grant. Rawlins became the youngest Secretary of War in American history when Grant became President of the United States. He was named even though Grant knew he was a dying man; within a few months he was dead, in his thirty-eighth year of life. This may have been one of the great losses in American history, because many who knew both men felt that, had Rawlins survived, Grant's civil career might have been as distinguished as was his military career. Rawlins would certainly have made violent protest against the corruption and inefficiency that surrounded Grant as President.

Perhaps death at that time might have been a blessing to Parker also. He became, by appointment of Grant, the first Indian to hold the office of Indian Commissioner. For the first time in the history of the country, there was during

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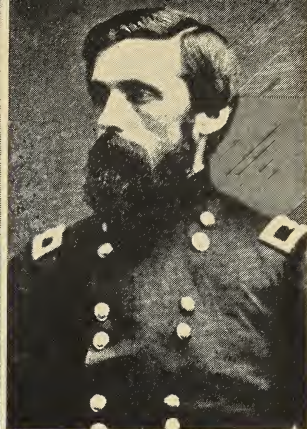
<sup>8</sup> Lincoln had notified Grant on March 3, 1865 not to confer with Lee on any question except the surrender of Lee's army. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association ed., New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), VIII: 330-31.



GENERAL CHETLAIN



GENERAL PARKER



GENERAL RAWLINS

Since both Chetlain and Rawlins appear in their uniforms of brigadier general their portraits were made after December 18, 1863 and August 11, 1863, respectively—the day they received their commissions. The picture of Parker was taken at the time he was General Grant's military secretary.

During his term no warfare between the Indians and the whites. He ran the department humanely, with the blend of feeling for both races that was necessary to that office. But he was a victim of slander; charges of corruption were made against him. Although an investigation completely exonerated Parker, he was heartbroken and resigned as Indian Commissioner.

He went to New York where he had a great career in Wall Street, became a very wealthy man and was popular everywhere. But he suffered a decline in fortune and in health, and in his last years simply had a desk job in the police department of New York City. He is a legend that ought to be revived, one of the figures of Galena life and American life who should be remembered: the only Indian who was a general in the Northern army.

Rawlins and Parker were great figures; they would have been great anywhere, in any field of life, and Galena and America should be proud of them and should show their pride by more study of them. An excellent, readable novel about Rawlins came out a few years ago—Louis Devon's *Aide to Glory*<sup>9</sup>—but the only biography of him, by his friend General Wilson, is out of print and almost forgotten. And there is

<sup>9</sup> (New York, 1952.)

one very rare book about General Parker by his nephew.<sup>10</sup>

I want to tell one last Parker story: many people believe that when General Lee saw big, swarthy and silent Ely Parker at Appomattox, he thought Parker was a Negro and withdrew in shock. Such is not the case: Lee said to Parker, "I am glad to see one real American here," and Parker replied, "We are now all Americans." That is a story that we ought to remember about the Civil War—this reminder by an Indian that, whatever the color of our skin, we are all Americans.

There is one other figure I would like to mention very briefly. Galena's other generals are all worthy of attention, but I think they ought to be saved for another occasion. Augustus L. Chetlain, the first man in Galena to enlist, lived to be a very old man, dying in Chicago in his ninetieth year. In the early lead mining days many people came from Chicago and other parts to Galena; after the Civil War the migration was reversed, from Galena to Chicago. Chicago had a great Galena colony; Generals Chetlain, John Eugene Smith and John Corson Smith and others went there, and many figures in Chicago history, including one mayor, came from Galena.

Chetlain was born in Galena, but his father was a native of Switzerland. In the forces of the North and South there were three generals of Swiss descent. In the South there was Felix Kirk Zollicoffer, who was killed early in the war; and in the North Augustus Louis Chetlain, of French-Swiss extraction, and John Eugene Smith, who was born in Switzerland. These Swiss were very proud of their contribution.

Chetlain as a young man in business in Galena had quickly accumulated a small fortune, and while still young went to Europe to get culture in large doses. He returned in 1860 and was looking about for something to do when the Civil War broke out. As a line officer Chetlain did distinguished work in various battles and might have achieved great fame had he continued in that capacity.

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<sup>10</sup> Arthur C. Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* (Buffalo, N. Y., 1919).

But Grant and others found a more important task for him. Chetlain succeeded General Lorenzo Thomas in supervising the enlistment of Negro troops after the North finally decided to allow them to serve in the Union forces. He got two kinds of advice. Grant told him that the Negro would be a good soldier; he would have a very interesting job, and it wouldn't be too difficult. Sherman, on the other hand, told him that he would have "one hell of a job" making soldiers out of slaves. (I can quote that because Sherman was also the man who said "War is hell." He often used that kind of language and was a fair second to Rawlins in profanity.) Chetlain succeeded in getting large numbers of Negroes to enlist, and he performed in a distinguished way as a commander of Negro troops.

After the war he was sent to Utah as collector of internal revenue. There he got to know Brigham Young and the other Mormon leaders. One of the most interesting accounts of the Mormons of the 1860's and 1870's is contained in Chetlain's autobiography. The book is pedestrian in style, and yet the reader is fascinated by it; he says so many things so well in spite of this awkwardness of style. His portrait of Brigham Young is one of the best I have ever read.

Chetlain also describes his later years as consul in Brussels, where he was sent by Grant. He tells of meetings with everyone under the sun, and has page after page of categorical accounts of all of them—two lines per man! He became a banker, a real estate man and a civic leader, an all-around person whom everyone knew and liked. Grant cherished his friendship, as did others. In fact, Grant cherished the friendship of all the men from Galena. He consulted with Rowley, for instance, about his *Memoirs* and many other things.<sup>11</sup>

You can have a profitable time reading about Galena's other generals and their town's little remembered epic.

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<sup>11</sup> The Rowley, Washburne, Grant and other papers in the Illinois State Historical Library contain much interesting and important material on the Galena generals which limitations of space and time forbade the author to use in this article.

# SOURCES OF EARLY ANTISLAVERY THOUGHT IN ILLINOIS

BY MERTON L. DILLON

ANTISLAVERY thought in the early nineteenth century was most likely to appear among men whose reading, formal education and social relationships had brought them into contact with the main intellectual currents of their time. Men acquainted with the natural rights theories of the enlightenment characteristically repudiated slavery. Similarly, those who had come under the influence of pietistic or evangelical Christianity were especially predisposed toward antislavery thought. Only rarely did opposition to slavery originate with the unlettered or with men little interested in ideas or with isolated frontier figures whose principal concern was at first their own survival and later their own prosperity.

Frontier areas consequently seldom produced antislavery centers until representatives of the older, settled regions had arrived and until Eastern ideas and institutions had had a chance to develop in the new area. Illinois Territory was no exception. Its sparse population, its location remote from the centers of religious and intellectual activity, the primitive character of its social structure and institutions all hindered the development of antislavery thought for many years.

The leading men of Illinois, before statehood was at-

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tained in 1818, appear to have been little affected by the ideas of natural rights which had so powerfully influenced the Revolutionary generation in its struggle for human freedom. Most early Illinois leaders had moved to the Northwest, ambitious to make a fortune in land speculation while winning for themselves also a satisfying portion of political power.<sup>1</sup> Nothing in their background or in their motives disposed them to devote their energies to social reform. Life on the American frontier did not create in such persons any marked desire to further the freedom and well-being of their fellow men. On the contrary, their economic projects involved plans to extend the institution of human slavery into Illinois. As early as 1796 they began their long and unsuccessful agitation to persuade Congress to alter section six of the Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery in the Northwest Territory.<sup>2</sup>

If the leaders of Illinois Territory had no inclination to oppose an institution which seemed to promise them profits, the rest of the population likewise remained indifferent. Most of the more humble settlers in the territory were unschooled frontier farmers too absorbed with solving their own imperative problems of existence to give attention to matters outside their immediate concern. The majority of them had come from the Upper South, and though some had left that area in order to escape from the plantation economy which had already begun its spread across the South, only a handful opposed slavery itself.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, religious institutions, often a source of anti-

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<sup>1</sup> Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (Chicago, 1922), 420-21, 423; John D. Barnhart, "Sources of Southern Migration into the Old Northwest," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XXII (June, 1935), 52.

<sup>2</sup> Many of the proslavery petitions have been collected in Jacob P. Dunn, Jr., "Slavery Petitions and Papers," *Indiana Historical Society, Publications*, Vol. II (1894), 445-529.

<sup>3</sup> Solon J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (Springfield, 1917), 96-98; Barnhart, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXII (1939), 363; for a discussion of the attitude of southern emigrants toward slavery see Zebina Eastman, "History of the Anti-Slavery Agitation, and the Growth of the Liberty and Republican Parties in the State of Illinois," in Rufus Blanchard, ed., *Discovery and Conquests of the North-West, with the History of Chicago* (Wheaton, Ill., 1881), 657.

slavery thought, developed only slowly in Illinois Territory. Antislavery Quakers who left the South soon after 1800 moved principally to Ohio and Indiana. Few, if any, seem to have gone so far west as Illinois during the territorial period. Other churches were little better represented. When the Rev. John Freeman Schermerhorn and the Rev. Samuel Mills visited Illinois in 1812 under the patronage of missionary societies in Massachusetts and Connecticut, they found not one Presbyterian preacher in the entire territory. The Baptists, they reported, had established four or five churches with a total membership of one hundred twenty; the Methodists had five hundred members and five circuit riders.<sup>4</sup>

Although the total situation in Illinois clearly precluded the development of any general antislavery sentiment in the years before statehood, the seeds to produce antislavery agitation already were present in the feeble frontier churches, even if they aroused little notice at the time and were momentarily without influence. Emigration from the South into Illinois had included among the majority who remained loyal to southern institutions a tiny group of church members to whom slavery was repugnant because of its inconsistency with their humanitarian and religious principles. A handful of such people had settled in the American Bottom, the land between the Kaskaskia and Mississippi rivers, comprising portions of the modern counties of Madison, Monroe and St. Clair.<sup>5</sup>

These southerners first displayed their antislavery sentiment in Illinois in connection with the Baptist churches they had recently founded. In 1797 the five Baptist churches of the American Bottom, composed almost exclusively of southern emigrants, formed the Illinois Baptist Union. The Union proceeded to carry on ecclesiastical correspondence with slave-

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<sup>4</sup> Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery, a Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, 1896), 245-85; John F. Schermerhorn and Samuel J. Mills, *A Correct View of That Part of the United States Which Lies West of the Allegany {sic} Mountains, with Regard to Religion and Morals* (Hartford, Conn., 1814), 2, 31-32.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur C. Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830* (Chicago, 1908), 91-92.

holding Baptists in Kentucky, and some of its own member churches contained communicants sympathetic with slavery. James Lemen, an emigrant from Virginia belonging to the Baptist church of Richland Creek in St. Clair County, found membership in a church which thus apparently condoned slavery more than his conscience could bear. Unable to keep his views to himself, he began to assert his antislavery opinions actively in meeting, and for his pains was promptly "taken under dealings" by the church. Refusing to be silent or to compromise, he left the church, taking with him seven like-minded members, all of them his relatives. After the Richland Creek Church had excommunicated Lemen on September 9, 1809, "for renting himself from the church," taking other members with him, and other accusations "too tedious to mention," the Lemen family organized itself into the Cantine Creek Church based on antislavery principles.<sup>6</sup>

The antislavery Baptists, who sometime during the territorial period adopted the name Friends of Humanity, remained few until the period of statehood, although the original group made some converts. In 1811 the seven members of the church at Silver Creek joined the emancipation cause, and in July, 1812, the Cantine Creek Church established a branch of eighteen members at Cold Water in St. Louis County, Missouri. Probably each of these churches adopted, as a statement of its policy toward slavery, Tarrant's Rules, nine antislavery propositions in the form of a catechism prepared by Carter Tarrant, pastor of the New Hope Baptist Church in Kentucky, for the Kentucky Friends of Humanity. Tarrant had barred from church membership any person who held slaves, purchased slaves, or was "friendly to perpetual slavery." The Illinois Baptist Friends of Humanity went no

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<sup>6</sup> David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World* (New York, 1848), 851; "Minutes of the Illinois United Baptist Association," in *Vandalia Illinois Advocate*, Dec. 9, 1831; James Lemen, Jr., "A Circular Address," in William W. Sweet (ed.), *The Baptists, 1783-1830* (New York, 1931), 579.

further: They, too, were concerned with slavery only in so far as it directly affected their own church congregation. They did not yet condemn all slavery, and if they gave vocal opposition to the attempts territorial leaders made to introduce slavery into Illinois, evidence of their opposition has not yet appeared.<sup>7</sup>

Like the Baptists, individual members and ministers of the Methodist Church in Illinois openly opposed slavery, but the church organizations themselves hesitated to act. Although the General Conference of the Methodist Church, its national legislative body, had taken an official stand against slavery, and the Western Conference, to which the Illinois Methodists belonged, had passed rules against it, the member churches in Illinois Territory appear to have given little attention to the matter. For example, when John Clarke, a Methodist circuit rider, withdrew from the South Carolina Conference, because of its fellowship with slaveholders, and moved to Illinois, he joined the Baptist Friends of Humanity, an organization more openly antislavery, at least on the local scene, than the Methodists.<sup>8</sup>

The activity of these few churchmen illustrates the efficacy of the religious impulse to produce antislavery sentiment even when it was transferred far from long settled areas. It illustrates, too, the sense of moral superiority antislavery men felt when governed by the religious impulse—their intransigence, their persistence, their unwillingness to relinquish a principle once they had accepted it. The antislavery sentiments of these Baptists and Methodists, however, were scarcely noticed in the Illinois country. The antislavery men were too

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 87, 92, 579.

<sup>8</sup> Charles B. Swaney, *Episcopal Methodism and Slavery with Sidelights on Ecclesiastical Politics* (Boston, 1926), 3-4, 9; *Journals of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1796-1836* (New York, 1855), 22-23, 62-63, 93, 170; William W. Sweet, ed., *The Rise of Methodism in the West Being the Journal of the Western Conference, 1800-1811* (New York, 1920), 24-25, 33, 114, 148, 184, 194; Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher* (New York, 1857), 168; James Leaton, *History of Methodism in Illinois from 1793 to 1832* (Cincinnati, 1883), 31-32.

few, their influence too slight and their opposition to slavery too poorly developed for them to cause the proponents of slavery much anxiety. Consequently the proslavery men for years remained practically unhampered in developing their plans for introducing slavery into Illinois Territory.

While the leaders of the Territory were preparing to draft a constitution in 1818 preliminary to entering the Union, a discussion took place in the newspapers about the status slavery should be accorded in the new state. Opponents of slavery thus had an opportunity to make their views known. Most of the antislavery arguments appear to have come from small farmers who had economic and social objections to the institution, but one writer took a different view of the matter. In June, 1818, a vigorous statement of antislavery opinion appeared in the *Western Intelligencer* over the signature "Agis." The sentiments of this writer, who has never been satisfactorily identified, indicate that he ranks among the most extreme antislavery men of his day. Denying that human beings can be property, Agis, like so many later abolitionists, condemned slaveholders as kidnappers who violated both the law of God and the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Agis thus represented in his person a union of the two strands of antislavery thought, the religious and the secular, which had not yet been commonly blended in the United States.<sup>9</sup>

Because of the restrictions of the Ordinance of 1787, Illinois became a free state in 1818, even though many men in the territory would have preferred a different solution to the problem. The admission of Illinois failed to settle the slavery issue to everyone's satisfaction. Blaming the depression which gripped the state after the panic of 1819 on the exclusion of slavery, such leaders as Governor Shadrach Bond, Representative John McLean and Henry Eddy, editor of the *Illinois Gazette*, supported projects to transform Illinois into

<sup>9</sup> *Kaskaskia* [Ill.] *Western Intelligencer*, June 17, 1818.

a slave state. But they would have to move rapidly if they were to succeed, for after 1818 significant numbers of people settled in Illinois for the express reason that it was free. They would not willingly accept an alteration of the constitution of 1818.<sup>10</sup>

The state had continued to receive emigrants from the South after 1818 whose objections to remaining in a slave society impelled them to leave their homes and migrate to a region which they believed would remain free from slavery's direct influence. In addition, during the later territorial period influential men from other parts of the United States and from Europe had arrived who had never lived in a slave society and never expected to live in one. The stage was thus set for a contest between the proslavery and the antislavery forces over the calling of a convention to alter the constitution of 1818.

This, the first organized antislavery movement in the Northwest, occurred in 1823 and 1824 at the dividing line in time between the secular and the religious phases of the antislavery movement in the United States. During the Revolutionary period, men whose hostility to slavery derived primarily from the rationalistic, humanitarian doctrines of the Age of Reason—the principles which provided the philosophical justification for the Revolution itself—had carried out in their urbane, undogmatic fashion a mild and relatively ineffective protest against slavery.<sup>11</sup>

Later, in the 1820's and 1830's especially, a far more influential antislavery drive developed, motivated principally by a religious impulse and possessing some of the character-

<sup>10</sup> William H. Brown, *An Historical Sketch of the Early Movement in Illinois for the Legalization of Slavery* (Chicago, 1876), 14-16; *Shawneetown Illinois Gazette*, July 8, 1820, April 6, 1822; Theodore C. Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818-1848* (Chicago, 1922), 76; on the continued migration of antislavery southerners see *Jonesboro [Tenn.] Emancipator*, April 30, 1820, reprinted in Elihu Embree, *The Emancipator (Complete)* (Nashville, 1932), 11.

<sup>11</sup> On the early phases of the antislavery movement see Alice D. Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America 1808-1831* (Boston, 1908), and Mary S. Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America from the Introduction of African Slaves to the Prohibition of the Slave Trade 1619-1808* (Boston, 1901).

istics of a religious crusade. Meanwhile as the men of the earlier generation grew old and died, and as the influence of rationalism declined in the face of the renewed vigor of evangelical Protestantism, opposition to slavery based solely on the doctrines of the enlightenment died too. And with it passed much of the torpor—and some would add, the tolerance—that had characterized the earlier phase of the movement.<sup>12</sup>

The early antislavery movement in Illinois developed before all of the representatives of the natural rights, rationalist group had passed from the scene but after antislavery religious leaders had developed. Indeed, the principal figures opposed to the proslavery plans in Illinois represented discretely the two phases of the antislavery movement and the two sources of antislavery thought. These men—among them the Rev. Thomas Lippincott, the Rev. John Mason Peck, Morris Birkbeck, and George Flower—were headed and inspired by a native-born Virginian and former slaveholder, Edward Coles.

Coles, who was born December 15, 1786, in Albemarle County, Virginia, attended William and Mary College, where, according to his own recollection, he acquired the conviction that "man could not of right hold property in his fellow man." But he may well have been familiar with such concepts from early childhood, for he belonged to a family intimately associated with the political leaders of Revolutionary Virginia. At their estate, Enniscorthy, where Thomas Jefferson had taken refuge at the approach of the British during the war, the Coles family entertained such exponents of natural rights theory as Patrick Henry, James Madison, James Monroe, members of the Randolph clan, and other leading Virginians of the period. The young Edward Coles in this manner had ample opportu-

<sup>12</sup> For the religious phase see especially Gilbert H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse 1830-1834* (New York, 1933); the vigor of the new religious spirit is suggested in Charles R. Keller, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut* (New Haven, 1942).

nity to become acquainted with the liberal, humanitarian ideas held by the leaders of the Jeffersonian era.<sup>13</sup>

In 1808 Coles inherited a share in his father's land and slaves. He soon determined to free his slaves and move with them into the Northwest, but he was delayed in accomplishing the plan by his inability to sell his land in Virginia and by his own poor health. In the meantime, President Madison, who had married Coles' cousin, Dolly Payne, appointed him his private secretary, a position he held from 1809 to 1815.<sup>14</sup>

By the summer of 1814, Coles, who in Washington had been living in the family of James Madison, had developed his early antislavery views to the point of attempting to devise some plan for the gradual ending of slavery, an institution he now considered repugnant "as well to the principles of our revolution as to our free institutions." For aid in formulating such a plan, he appealed to Thomas Jefferson, explaining to him his decision no longer to hold slaves and no longer to live in a slave state. He considered Jefferson to be the individual who could most appropriately further the cause of emancipation because of his "known philosophical and enlarged view of subjects" and his interest "in establishing on the broadest basis the rights of man." Emancipation, Coles believed, would provide an opportunity for Jefferson "to put into complete practice those hallowed principles contained in that renowned Declaration" of which Jefferson had been the author.

It was a tired and disillusioned Jefferson who answered Coles' letter. His reply indicated his discouragement at the apathy of the post-Revolutionary generation toward slavery. "Your solitary but welcome voice," he assured Coles, "is the first which has brought this sound to my ear." He informed

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<sup>13</sup> "Governor Coles' Autobiography," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. III (Oct., 1910), 61; Dumas Malone, *Jefferson the Virginian* (Boston, 1948), 358; Clarence W. Alvord (ed.), *Governor Edward Coles (Illinois Historical Collections, XV, Springfield, 1920)*, 19.

<sup>14</sup> "Governor Coles' Autobiography," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, III, 61; Alvord (ed.), *Governor Edward Coles*, 20.

Coles that he favored a plan "of emancipation of those born after a given day, and of their education and expatriation at a proper age." But as for aiding in the work himself, Jefferson wrote, so ambitious an enterprise was for the young, not for one who had "overlived the generation with which mutual labors and perils begat mutual confidence and influence." In the interest of Coles' slaves and of the South, he advised him neither to free his slaves nor to leave Virginia. Rather, he counseled, "become the missionary of this doctrine truly christian, insinuate and inculcate it softly but steadily thro' the medium of writing and conversation, associate others in your labors, and when the phalanx is formed bring on and press the proposition perseveringly until its accomplishment."<sup>15</sup>

Edward Coles felt, however, that acting alone he was incapable of promoting emancipation or even of ameliorating the condition of the slaves of the South. Jefferson's counsel that he remain in Virginia and adopt Fabian tactics toward slavery was, therefore, not effective. In 1815 Coles resigned his position as Madison's secretary in order to spend the autumn and winter of that year in making a six-thousand-mile tour through the West. After buying six thousand acres of land in Madison County, Illinois, he returned to Virginia with the intention of preparing to move permanently into free territory. But on July 7, 1816, Madison appointed him to carry out a special diplomatic mission to Russia.<sup>16</sup>

After accomplishing his assignment in St. Petersburg, he traveled to France, where mutual acquaintance with American Revolutionary leaders led to the development of his friendship with Lafayette. Coles then toured the British Isles. In London John Quincy Adams introduced him to the prominent British liberal, Morris Birkbeck, who had for some time been considering moving to the United States. While Coles was

<sup>15</sup> Coles to Jefferson, July 31, 1814, Alvord (ed.), *Governor Edward Coles*, 22-24; Jefferson to Coles, Aug. 25, 1814, *ibid.*, 24-27.

<sup>16</sup> Coles to Jefferson, Sept. 26, 1814, *ibid.*, 28; Coles to Nicholas Biddle, May 15, 1816, Edward Coles Papers, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.

visiting Birkbeck at his estate in Surrey, Coles told him of the agricultural advantages offered by the Illinois prairies. He thereby influenced the settlement in Illinois of Birkbeck and through him of Richard and George Flower, all of whom were to give valuable aid to the antislavery movement in the state.<sup>17</sup>

Coles then returned to the United States, and at last moved to Illinois in April, 1818, bringing with him his ten slaves, whom he freed in a dramatic episode as they floated down the Ohio River toward Illinois. He gave those of the freedmen who were above the age of twenty-four a quarter section of land; to the children he gave books, promising to pay for their education and offering premiums to those who learned to read and write.<sup>18</sup>

Coles had been preceded to the West by the Flowers and Birkbeck, who established themselves with other English settlers in Edwards County in eastern Illinois. However diverse in their origins, these men encountered little difficulty in understanding the social philosophy and aims of each other. As active English liberals, Birkbeck and the Flowers possessed a close intellectual kinship with the leading Virginians of Coles' generation. All four of them, each a notable humanitarian in his own right, shared a community of interest with the other social reformers of their day. George Flower, famous as a pamphleteer and reformer in England, knew Lafayette, who supplied him with an introduction to Thomas Jefferson, at whose home Flower spent his first winter in the United States. At the home of James Madison, he first met Edward Coles. Later when they had arrived in Illinois, the Flowers exchanged ideas with George Rapp and his experi-

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<sup>17</sup> Alvord (ed.), *Governor Edward Coles*, 37-39; Coles to William Barry, June 25, 1858, *ibid.*, 366-68.

<sup>18</sup> Alvord, (ed.), *Governor Edward Coles*, 43-48, 206; Coles to the editor, *Illinois Intelligencer*, June 4, 1822, quoted *ibid.*, 261-63; Coles to James Madison, July 20, 1819, "Some Letters of Edward Coles, Second Governor of Illinois, to James Madison, Ex-President of the United States," *Bulletin of the Chicago Historical Society* (Chicago), Vol. I (Nov., 1934), 4.

mental community at Harmony, Indiana, and with their successor, the English Utopian, Robert Owen.<sup>19</sup>

Part of the purpose of Birkbeck and the Flowers in leaving England had been to escape the bonds of what they believed to be a decadent society and thus enable their children and friends to create in the American backwoods "a career of enterprise and wholesome family connections, in a society whose institutions are favourable to virtue." Accordingly, they felt impelled to oppose any features of American society that seemed to them to impair its suitability as a setting for their project. For that reason both Birkbeck and the Flowers were opposed to slavery and especially to its introduction into Illinois. "It is the leprosy of the United States," Birkbeck wrote in 1818, "a foul blotch which more or less contaminates the entire system."<sup>20</sup>

At approximately the same time that these representatives of English and American liberal thought settled in Illinois, two Americans whose opposition to slavery had primarily a religious basis arrived—the Rev. Thomas Lippincott and the Rev. John Mason Peck. Lippincott, born of Quaker parents in New Jersey in 1791, moved to Alton, Illinois, sometime between 1818 and 1820 after having lived in New York and Missouri. One of the most outspoken of the opponents of the introduction of slavery into Illinois, he became an abolitionist during the 1830's. After withdrawing from the Society of Friends, he had joined the Presbyterian Church, which, nonetheless, he continued to criticize severely for its failure to adopt a definite stand against slavery. Slavery, he insisted, violated each of the Ten Commandments. More than that, it

<sup>19</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 289; VI, 478-79; George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, Founded in 1817 and 1818, by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower* (Chicago, 1882), 43-45; Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., *Backwoods Utopias, the Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1663-1829* (Philadelphia, 1950), 49; Joel W. Hiatt, ed., *Diary of William Owen from November 10, 1824 to April 20, 1825* (Indianapolis, 1907), 76, 78, 84, 99, 120.

<sup>20</sup> Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America, from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois, with Proposals for the Establishment of a Colony of English* (Philadelphia, 1817), 8; Birkbeck, *Letters from Illinois* (London, 1818), 71.

completely deprived moral agents who were accountable to God for their actions of the right to conduct their lives in accord with that responsibility.<sup>21</sup>

John Mason Peck, a Connecticut-born Congregationalist who turned Baptist over the issue of pedobaptism, went to St. Louis in 1817 as a Baptist missionary and traveled in that capacity in both Missouri and Illinois. In 1822 he moved his headquarters to Illinois, where he continued his missionary work under the auspices of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society. His opposition to slavery, like Lippincott's, derived from his belief that it contradicted the divine law, and while he was neither so outspoken nor so consistent as Lippincott in his opposition, he could, upon occasion, issue indictments of the institution as eloquent and devastating as any. Although Peck organized religious sentiment in the state against slavery from 1822 to 1824, his devotion to colonization as a remedy for the problem of slavery later became so extreme that during the 1830's he appeared to be almost a supporter of slavery.<sup>22</sup>

Edward Coles from Virginia and Morris Birkbeck and George and Richard Flower from England on the one hand, and Thomas Lippincott and John Mason Peck from New England on the other represent the two bases upon which opposition in Illinois to slavery was to rest. Those of the first group derived their principles from the ideas of the English rationalists and the French *philosophes* with reinforcement from American experience and from the liberal heritage of the American Revolution. The second group, emphasizing natural law and the natural rights of man less than divine law and man's God-given rights and duties, found the ideological basis for its opposition to slavery in the religious teachings of the Bible.

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<sup>21</sup> Margaret C. Norton, ed., *Illinois Census Returns, 1820* (Illinois Historical Collections, XXVI, Springfield, 1934), 139; Charles H. Rammelkamp, *Illinois College, a Centennial History, 1829-1929* (New Haven, 1928), 11-12; *Edwardsville [Ill.] Spectator*, Nov. 9, 1824.

<sup>22</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 381-82; *Edwardsville Spectator*, Aug. 6, 1823.

In practice, no essential difference appeared between the views of either group toward slavery, though the rationalists were generally more temperate in their criticism and more conservative in their methods than the religiously inspired. In most of the individuals in Illinois who opposed slavery, these separate theoretical grounds for antislavery sentiment were merged. In theory, of course, as well as in practice, the two were nearly identical; for the rationalists of the eighteenth century who had enthroned natural law and natural rights had done little more than change the provenance of that law and those rights. They were more Christian than they knew.<sup>23</sup>

Early opposition to slavery in Illinois thus developed from principles that lay at the foundation of Western civilization. As soon as men thoroughly devoted to those principles arrived in the state, criticism of slavery appeared. In addition, the leaders of antislavery opinion in Illinois, aroused to action by events at home, received encouragement in their activity from newspapers published outside the state, which, in turn, based their antislavery arguments chiefly on religious doctrine. Hooper Warren, New England-born editor of the antislavery *Edwardsville Spectator*, acknowledged influence from the antislavery *Emancipator* published at Jonesboro, Tennessee, by that "courageous philanthropist," the Quaker Elihu Embree.<sup>24</sup>

Probably Embree's successor, Benjamin Lundy, was of still greater importance in providing Illinois antislavery men with arguments, particularly those of a religious nature. As early as 1821, Warren was reprinting in his newspaper articles from Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Both editors shared the conviction that slavery was wrong because it withheld from man the natural rights which his Creator in-

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<sup>23</sup> See Carl L. Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (New Haven, 1932), especially 40-41, 48-53, 63, 65; for a discussion of the close relation between concepts of natural law and Puritan theology see Alice M. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (Durham, 1928), 13-14.

<sup>24</sup> *Edwardsville Spectator*, Sept. 5, 1820.

tended him to enjoy. Edward Coles also read the *Genius*, and recommended it to Morris Birkbeck as a useful source of facts and arguments for use against those who sought to alter the state constitution.<sup>25</sup>

As a full-scale effort began in 1823 to call a constitutional convention for the avowed purpose of admitting slavery, the antislavery elements in Illinois aroused themselves to vigorous opposition. Coles, who had been elected governor in 1822, provided the leadership, but he did not work alone. Birkbeck and the Flowers wrote pamphlets and newspaper articles arguing against slavery in the older tradition of humanitarian reform; the Baptist Friends of Humanity carried on religious agitation; Methodist preachers delivered impassioned antislavery sermons; John Mason Peck helped to organize a network of antislavery societies.<sup>26</sup> The religious and the secular strands of the antislavery movement joined in Illinois in 1823 and 1824 to form a thread of opposition too strong for the proslavery forces to break. When the vote was taken in August, 1824 on the question of calling a new constitutional convention, the proslavery forces were defeated.<sup>27</sup> The antislavery movement, growing out of the dual American tradition of natural rights and Christianity, had won its first major victory in the Northwest.

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, Dec. 11, 1821, Aug. 31, 1822; according to the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, published at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, Aug. 1, 1823, Warren was an agent for the newspaper; Coles to Birkbeck, April 12, 1823, Alvord, ed., *Governor Edward Coles*, 146.

<sup>26</sup> Morris Birkbeck, *An Appeal to the People of Illinois on the Question of a Convention* (Shawneetown, Ill., 1823); many of Birkbeck's newspaper articles are reprinted in Flower, *History of the English Settlement*, 210-45; [Thomas Lippincott and others], *To the People of Illinois* [Edwardsville, Ill., 1824]; on the activity of the clergy see *Edwardsville Spectator*, Dec. 6, 1823, March 9, 1824, *Vandalia Illinois Intelligencer*, July 5, Aug. 23, Oct. 11, 1823, and John Mason Peck to Absalom Peters, Nov. 10, 1829, American Home Missionary Society Papers, Chicago Theological Seminary.

<sup>27</sup> Theodore C. Pease, ed., *Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848* (Springfield, 1923), 27.

# LINCOLN'S TOMB

## *Designs Submitted and Final Selection*

BY WILLIAM J. HOSKING

ARTICLE TWO of the Articles and Certificate of Organization of the National Lincoln Monument Association,<sup>1</sup> dated May 11, 1865, states that "The object of this association shall be to construct a Monument to the memory of Abraham Lincoln in the City of Springfield State of Illinois."<sup>2</sup>

About this time word was circulating that the Association intended to ask for designs. Artists and contractors started writing for information regarding the proposed monument and its location. Also, shortly after the Association was organized, subscriptions were called for. Many individuals and organizations would not subscribe any money without knowing the exact intentions of the Association and wanted a steel plate copy of the design picked. So many inquiries were received that the Association issued the following statement:

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<sup>1</sup> There was also a National Lincoln Monument Association in Washington, D. C. but the one mentioned here is the Springfield organization.

<sup>2</sup> National Lincoln Monument Association papers, (MSS, Illinois State Historical Library.)

*William J. Hosking is a graduate of Arizona State College at Tempe. As a native of Springfield, Illinois, he says he has "had an interest in Lincoln ever since I can remember." He is at present in the U. S. Army and is stationed at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.*

OFFICE OF THE  
NATIONAL LINCOLN MONUMENT ASSOCIATION  
SPRINGFIELD, ILL., JUNE 28, 1865.

As many inquiries are being made as to the design, the probable cost, &c., of the National Lincoln Monument, to be erected under the supervision of this Association, it is stated, for the information of the public, that no design has yet been selected, and of course the probable cost cannot be estimated at present.

It is the object of the Association to build a monument in every way worthy of the fame of our late President, and they depend upon the generosity of the people to enable them to carry out this desire.

As soon as the design is selected, steel plate copies will be sent to the various Schools and Societies which have contributed to the fund, and the receipts to individual donors will also contain a representation of the same.

The Board of Directors have ordered the following notice to be published: "It is deemed proper that the public should be officially appraised that, in accordance with the wishes of Mrs. Lincoln, the National Lincoln Monument Association have definitely decided to erect the National Monument to the memory of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, late President of the United States, over his remains at Oak Ridge, near the city of Springfield, Illinois.<sup>3</sup>

[Signed.]

R. J. OGLESBY, PRES'T.

CLINTON L. CONKLING, SEC'Y.

The Association, it seems, was slow in sending out the steel plate copies of the winning design to those who contributed, and there are letters in the files from four or five years after the monument was completed asking for the copy of the design. Most of the letters are from schools where children had contributed.

Up to July, 1865, no official statement had been issued by the Association asking for designs to be submitted. James W. Simonton, editor of the *New York Daily Times*, wrote to Governor Richard J. Oglesby on July 10, 1865. He enclosed an editorial which appeared in the *Times* relative to a design for the monument. In part he says:

Unless the work is thrown open fairly to competition, the Monument Committee will have no opportunity to learn what they *can* obtain for their

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

money,—because the best artists will not waste their time in offering designs while there is a probability that favoritism will decide the order, and leave *merit* in the back-ground.

This letter also contains the first mention of Larkin G. Mead, Jr., whose design was finally chosen. Simonton continues:

I have seen a photograph of a most beautiful design modeled at Florence, Italy,<sup>4</sup> by Larkin G. Mead, of Vermont . . . I consider him the most promising Sculptor of the Age,—and feel confident that he would be a powerful if not successful competitor for your Springfield order.<sup>5</sup>

There are very few copies of replies from the Association, but there is a copy of a reply to the letter mentioned above. On August 2, 1865, Governor Oglesby answered Simonton, saying in part:

We shall avoid the folly of running after favorites for we have none. We shall at the proper time when means are accumulated to Justify us Ask of American Sculptors to present designs and offer to them such inducements as shall upon the fairest terms secure the very best by opening wide the door of competition.<sup>6</sup>

As early as August 29, 1865, W. H. Machen of Toledo, Ohio, and Jerome Patterson of Richview, Illinois wrote to enquire about sending in designs.<sup>7</sup> Also Mead had drawn up plans for a monument and had a plaster model made of it. While Mead was at the U. S. Consulate in Venice, he heard that a Chicago paper had printed a description of his design. As there were mistakes in the newspaper account he wrote to Governor Oglesby and gave a general description.

As he then outlined it, his monument would be ten or fifteen feet above the general level of the ground. A paved walk would form a circle around seven steps upon which the base of the structure would stand. "An octagon base rises in the center of the steps twelve feet in height. From four

<sup>4</sup> Mead did all of his work in his Florence studio.

<sup>5</sup> James W. Simonton to Oglesby, July 10, 1865. Association papers.

<sup>6</sup> Oglesby to Simonton, Aug. 2, 1865, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Aug. 29, 1865, *ibid.*

alternate corners of the octagon base project four pedestals, upon which are four groups representing . . . Infantry, Artillery, Cavalry, and Marine."<sup>8</sup>

In a later letter to the Association Mead explained that while he had his model on display in New York he learned what many thought of his design. Significant differences between his original plans and the tomb as it now stands are that instead of an iron balustrade around the terrace a stone one was built and instead of an eagle surmounting the obelisk there is now a small stone pyramid.<sup>9</sup> Also the spire or obelisk is now 117 feet high although originally it was only 100 feet.

Early in 1868 the Association advertised a "notice to Artists," offering \$1,000 for the best design and named September 1 of that year as the day for examination.<sup>10</sup> By the appointed date, thirty-seven designs from thirty-one artists had been received. Following is the official list of those who submitted plans:

Names and residence of persons submitting Designs to the National Lincoln Monument Association. September 2, 1868.<sup>11</sup>

Bailly J.A. & H.H. Lovie	Philadelphia
Batterson J.G.	Hartford
Baum Joseph [a]	Springfield Ills.
Beattie J.	Saint Louis
Belknap M.S. [a]	Louisville
Bullett Charles	Saint Louis (presented [by] Muldoon, Bullett & Co.)
Cochran & Piquenard [a]	Chicago
Emmett William [a]	Logansport Ind.
Follenius R.H.	Saint Louis
Gay Henry L [a]	Chicago
Goodenow Milton	Jefferson (Greene Co.) Iowa
Haldeman J.R. & J.S.	Bloomington Ills.

<sup>8</sup> Mead to Oglesby, Nov. 8, 1865, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Mead to Association, March 28, 1868, *ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> John C. Power, *Abraham Lincoln, His Life, Public Services, Death and Great Funeral Cortege, With a History and Description of the National Lincoln Monument* (Springfield, 1889), 230-31.

<sup>11</sup> Sept. 2, 1868, Association papers. The list was copied exactly as it appears.

Harnische A.E. [a]	Philadelphia	
Haseltine Jas. H.	Philadelphia	
Hooper John Wesley	Chicago	
Horwan & Maurer [b]	Brooklyn	2 designs
Hosmer Harriet	Boston	
Hummel J.E. [a]	Mattoon Ills.	
Jones Thos. D. [a]	Cincinnati	2 designs
Machen W.H.	Toledo	
McClaren & Baldwin	Saint Louis	
Mead Larkin G. jr.	B[r]attleboro Vt.	2 designs
Merrill N	Milwaukee Wis.	2 designs
Myers E.E.	Springfield Ills.	
Odiorne C.B. [a]	Boston	
Ream Vinnie	Washington	
Scherr E.N.	Philadelphia (presented by Novelty Iron Works)	
Schroff H. [a]	Chicago	
Volk C. G.	Quincy	2 designs
Volk L. W.	Chicago	2 designs
Vrydagh J.A.	Indianapolis	

[a no plans or descriptions were found in papers.]

[b correct spelling is Korwan & Maurer.]

With the general plans, model or picture of their monuments, the artists also sent a written description of certain parts of their designs. This was especially true of any statuary work where meaning and symbolism were important, and there was usually a description of the color and type of stone they planned to use.

The Association selected the design by a vote. There were fifteen members in the group: Richard J. Oglesby, Orlin H. Miner, John T. Stuart, Jesse K. Dubois, James C. Conkling, John Williams, Jacob Bunn, Sharon Tyndale, Newton Bateman, Samuel H. Treat, O. M. Hatch, S. H. Melvin, James H. Beveridge, Thomas J. Dennis and David L. Phillips.

Before going into the selection of the design it should be mentioned that there was one thing that members of the Association were looking for. That was provision for a vault.

Wherever there was a description or mention of a vault a purple rubber stamp of a pointing hand was stamped on the paper.

Although this was before the attempt to steal Lincoln's body the Association wanted a tomb that would insure the safety of the martyred President's remains. Most of the plans did not mention a vault of any kind, and some even planned to have the sarcophagus in a rotunda.

Mead's plan did not provide for a vault below ground, but placed the bodies of Lincoln and his family in crypts in the south wall of a catacomb. Not until the monument was reconstructed in 1901 was Abraham Lincoln's body placed in the ground. A few artists planned their monuments to contain as many as twelve crypts, the decision being left to the Association as to the use to be made of them.

There has been some doubt about Robert Todd Lincoln's desire to be buried in the Lincoln Tomb. The following letter written to O. M. Hatch on September 10, 1890 was found in the Association's papers. It should dispel any doubts as to what Robert Lincoln desired at that time. Robert was Minister to England and his son "Jack" had died on March 5, 1890.

LONDON 10 SEPT. 1890

HON. O. M. HATCH

MY DEAR SIR:

I beg to thank you for your letter communicating to me the resolution of the Lincoln Monument Association inviting a correspondence with me as to the propriety of depositing the remains of my son, in a crypt in the Monument erected in memory of his Grandfather.

In reply I beg to say to you that when, upon the death of my son, I foresaw the extinction upon my own death of my father's descendants bearing his name, the desire came upon me that, if it met the views of every member of the Monument Association, arrangements might be made for the burial in the Monument of my son and thereafter of myself and my wife and of my two daughters, *unless they should marry*—It is the arrangement I would make, under the peculiar circumstances, if the tomb of my father were, as would usually be the case, in my care, but I trust that it may be understood

that I know that the Monument was not erected or arranged for such a purpose & that I would abandon my desire if it does not seem proper to each member of the Association that the arrangement should be entered upon.

I need not say that any expenses caused by such an arrangement would be borne by myself.

I will be highly grateful by the kind consideration of my wish.

BELIEVE ME

VERY SINCERELY YOURS

ROBERT T. LINCOLN

Many of the artists sent in estimates of what their monuments would cost. Some were much below the limit set by the Association, while others were twice as high. J. C. Power, who was the first custodian of the Tomb, wrote:

Some of these designs would have cost a million dollars each to put them into execution. Five days were occupied in studying them, when the board adjourned to meet again on the tenth of the month [September]. They reassembled on the tenth, and continued to the eleventh, when it was

*Resolved*, That this Association adopt the design—one of them—submitted by Larkin G. Mead, Jr., to be constructed of granite and bronze, and that the whole matter be referred to the Executive Committee, with the power to act.<sup>12</sup>

Five ballots were taken before the final choice was reached. The first was on the question of how many designs and whose were worthy of consideration. Members were allowed to vote for more than one. The results were: Mead, 12; Bailey & Lovie, 10; Jones's Temp.,<sup>13</sup> 3; Batterson, 6; L. W. Volk, Plan A, 8; L. W. Volk, Plan B, 2; Merrill, 2; C.G. Volk, 3; Hosmer, 3; McClaren & Baldwin, 2; Cochran & Piquenard, 3; E. E. Myers, 1.

The second ballot eliminated all but five: Mead, Bailey & Lovie, Jones's Temple, L. W. Volk's Plan A, and Batterson. The third and fourth ballots were not decisive. They are also incomplete. It is probable that there was considerable discussion over the designs. As has been noted, the Commit-

<sup>12</sup> Power, *Abraham Lincoln*, 231.

<sup>13</sup> Jones submitted two designs; this vote was evidently for one of a temple.



SPRINGFIELD, 1869. ILLINOIS.

THIS CERTIFIES THAT

*Victor S. P. McArthur*  
 contributed Fifty Cents to the erection  
 of a Monument in memory of  
 Abraham Lincoln,  
 our martyred President.  
*Springfield, Ill. 1869*

*J. H. Sevier*

ORIGINAL DESIGN OF THE LINCOLN TOMB

Contributors to the Monument Association fund received certificates with this artist's conception of the accepted plan.

tee started on September 10 and continued the next day.

On the last ballot Judge Treat moved that the Committee accept Mead's design, for the manuscript copy of the Minutes of the "Several Ballots taken on the question of choice of design,"<sup>14</sup> says "Mead on Judge Treats motion,—Bateman, Beveredge [*sic*], Bunn, Conckling [*sic*], Dennis, Dubois, Hatch, Miner, Stuart, Treat, Williams. Against: Tyndale."<sup>15</sup> Thus according to the manuscript copy of the ballot in the files of the National Lincoln Monument Association twelve voted for Mead's design; one, Tyndale, was against it and there were absent or not voting, Oglesby and Phillips. In J. C. Power's account of this voting in his book, which has been previously referred to, he lists Phillips also as voting in the affirmative and only Oglesby as being absent or not voting.

After the winning design had been picked most of the artists wrote in asking that their plans and drawings be returned. Since most of the designs were sent back, and there remain only brief written descriptions, it is difficult, impossible in some instances, to form a visual conception of what a particular artist's monument would have looked like.

Out of the thirty-seven designs submitted, there are only three drawings in the Association's papers. Of the thirty-one artists involved, ten do not have a written description of any kind. We know what the chosen design looks like; now let us look at the descriptions of some of the others. Detailed dimensions have been omitted, but overall dimensions are given along with some of the unusual features of a design:

J. A. Bailly—Classical in design, of Roman Doric architecture. It would be in the shape of a Temple of Honor, all open. There would be a shaft and a vault underneath with stairs leading up.<sup>16</sup>

J. G. Batterson—A monument of Renaissance style to consist of three stages. First, a raised platform forty-seven feet square; at angles would

<sup>14</sup> Voting record, Association papers. Filed with Sept. 11, 1868. The contract with Mead was let on Dec. 31, 1868.

<sup>15</sup> Tyndale was unaccountably assassinated on April 29, 1871.

<sup>16</sup> Aug. 23, 1868, Association papers.

project four diagonal buttresses. Second, four alcoves are located in a central position to receive four groups of statuary. Third, an octagon base with a circular shaft, surmounted by an ornamental dome with a figure of liberty on top. The entire monument would be seventy-five feet high.<sup>17</sup>

J. Beattie—A monument fifty-one feet square and 130 feet high. It would contain a large statue of Lincoln under a canopy about twenty feet square supported by columns. Tabernacle work would rise from the roof of the canopy and would be surmounted by a column with a globe on top terminated with a goddess of liberty.<sup>18</sup>

R. H. Follenius—The structure would be seventy feet high with inside walls of hard brick. The vault would be under the center of the monument with steps at the rear.<sup>19</sup>

Milton Goodenow—The center of the structure to be an octagon rising two stories with a diameter of twenty-two feet. From the lower story would project four wings forming the arms of a Greek cross. A shaft would rise forming a third story thirty-seven feet high. The entire height of the monument to be 112 feet including a 16-foot statue of Lincoln on the top.<sup>20</sup>

J. R. and J. S. Haldeman—This memorial would consist of three tiers, all of the same design but becoming smaller as one fits on top of the other. It would rise 70 feet high.<sup>21</sup>

John Wesley Hooper—The structure would be in the form of a rotunda, forty-two feet in diameter and forty-two feet in height. A raised circle in the center surrounded by thirty-six columns with state seals and names on each. Within the rotunda would be a statue of Lincoln. The structure would have a dome surmounted by a globe with an eagle on it.<sup>22</sup>

Harriet G. Hosmer—She would construct a Temple of Fame, inside of which a recumbent statue of the dead President would rest upon a sarcophagus.<sup>23</sup>

Nathaniel Merrill—This would be a classic temple 40 feet square and 30 feet high. It would have marble statuary, shafts, columns and panels of granite or marble. Within would be a life size statue of Lincoln. The temple would have a dome.<sup>24</sup>

E. N. Scherr—The main tower was to contain the sepulcher at the bottom. Above the vault on the floor parterre was to be a mausoleum contain-

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<sup>17</sup> Aug. 27, 1868, *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Sept. 1, 1868, *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Aug. 20, 1868, *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Sept. 1, 1868, *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Sept. 15, 1868, *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Aug. 25, 1868, *ibid.*

ing a life-size statue of Lincoln. The main tower, 176 feet high, would contain an ornamental clock. A belfry would contain an automatic carillon. Fountains were also included if water supply were available.<sup>25</sup>

Leonard W. Volk—Plan A would be an oval in form, 82 feet long and 60 feet wide. The "mausoleum-temple" would be 43 feet from the ground to the top of the dome. Volk's Plan B was similar except octagonal in form.<sup>26</sup>

J. A. Vrydagh—His intention was to have the monument as a national structure. The arches would be of white and red pressed brick laid in stripes in imitation of the national flag. The triangle under the arch and the cube to bear the remains were to be of the best Italian marble. Candelabra would light the chamber with gas and the designer thought there would be room enough on the walls and piers "to engrave the names of all those who fell in the defence of the Union."<sup>27</sup>

Korwan and Maurer—They would have a vault under the monument. There would be a rotunda and dome with an eagle suspended from it. The sepulcher would be on a raised platform against the north wall. Their second design was similar to the first except that it would be in the general shape of a pyramid, having four sides and a door in each side.<sup>28</sup>

An interesting suggestion was sent in by E. B. Hungerford of Elmira, New York. In his letter to the Association dated October 28, 1865 he says: "I propose to Build it [the tomb] of Glass cemented together with an imperishable cement the blocks to consist of three colors Red White & blue, or other colors if chosen." Hungerford wanted approval of his idea for the material before submitting a design. Evidently it did not meet with approval. Nor is Hungerford's name on the official list of contributors.

From the foregoing can be gathered some idea of the designs submitted. Many would have been like that of the Stephen A. Douglas monument in Chicago. From those submitted could a better monument in honor of Abraham Lincoln have been chosen?

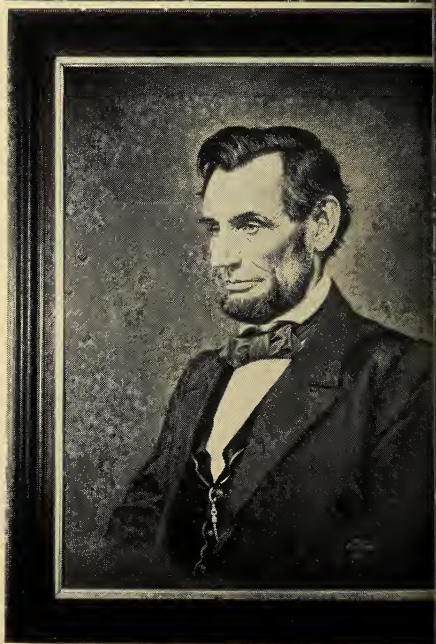
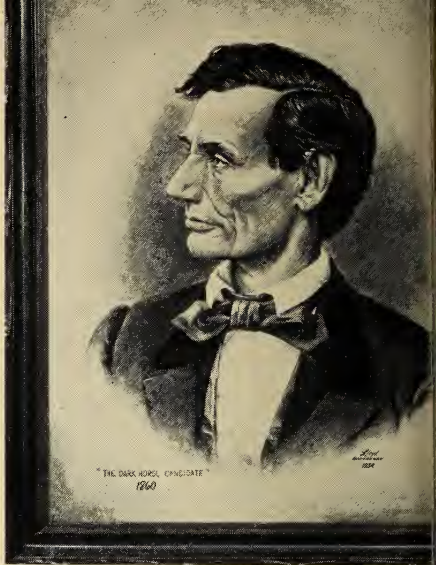
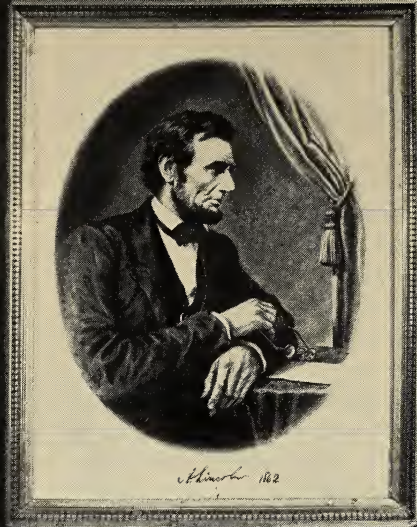
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<sup>25</sup> April, 1868, *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Sept. 1, 1868, *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Aug. 24, 1868, *ibid.*

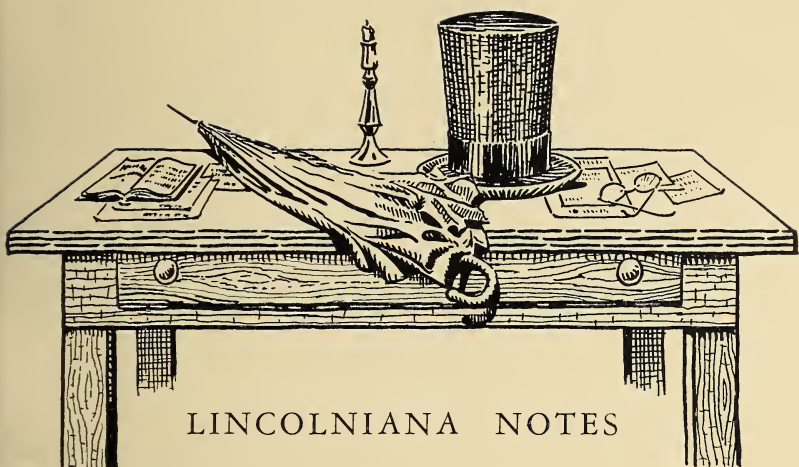
<sup>28</sup> April 10, 1868, *ibid.*



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## A QUARTET OF NEW LINCOLN PORTRAITS

Lloyd Ostendorf, Dayton, Ohio artist who designed the recently unveiled "Chicago Lincoln" statue, says that he painted the four Lincoln pictures shown on this page during the past six years as a part of his "Lincoln avocation." He points out that Lincoln portraits are usually patterned after one of the photographs—he has used the Volk life mask in various poses to make his paintings "new" and unlike those that have been seen before.



## LINCOLNIANA NOTES

### LINCOLN'S FEAR OF DOING WRONG

Ward Hill Lamon was a man of great personal charm, a convivial soul whose company Abraham Lincoln enjoyed, especially during the trying years in the White House when he was perhaps the President's closest personal friend. Lamon accompanied Lincoln from Springfield to Washington where he was made Marshal of the District of Columbia and was in fact the self-appointed bodyguard of the President. Unfortunately Lamon was not present on the night of the assassination, and this was the regret of his life. He was on a mission to Richmond, Virginia.

In a scrapbook which the Illinois State Historical Library recently received from Miss Mabel S. Fisher of Illiopolis, is a clipping from an unidentified source reprinting a story from the *Philadelphia Times*. In this narrative Lamon describes the President's anxiety lest some dishonest person should duplicate the issue of greenbacks:

I have always believed that Abraham Lincoln was the only man that I ever knew that never realized the sensation of fear (except the fear of doing wrong), and my experience as the years go by confirms me in that judgment, says Ward H. Laymon [*sic*], in the *Philadelphia Times*. He was

the bravest man morally and physically I ever saw, yet in regard to every public duty he approached it with a sense of responsibility that was often painful to him, and caused him great discomfort. Nothing that effected [*sic*] the interests of the government escaped his vigilant thought and careful consideration. I recollect on one occasion, just after the greenback currency got under full headway of circulation, being in his office when the conversation turned on the condition of our finances and the greenback as a representative of money. He was in high spirits that day and seemed to feel happier than I had seen him for a long time.

I casually asked him if he knew how our currency was made? "Yes," said he. "I think it is, about as the lawyers would say, in the following manner, to-wit: The engraver strikes off the sheets, passes them over to the register of the currency, he places his ear-marks upon them, signs them, hands them over to Father Spinner,<sup>1</sup> who then places his wonderful signature at the bottom, and turns them over to Mr. Chase,<sup>2</sup> who, as secretary of the United States treasury, issues them to the public as money—and may the good Lord help any fellow that don't take all he can honestly get of them."

Taking from his pocket a five-dollar greenback, and with a twinkle of his eye, he said: "Look at Spinner's signature. Was there ever anything like it on earth? Yet it is the unmistakable, no one will ever be able to counterfeit it."

"But," I said, "you certainly don't suppose that Spinner actually wrote his name on that bill, do you?"

"Certainly, I do. Why not?"

I then asked: "How much of this currency have we afloat?"

He remained thoughtful for a moment and stated the amount.

I continued: "How many times do you think a man can write a signature like Spinner's in the course of twenty-four hours?"

The beam of hilarity left his countenance at once. He jammed the greenback into his vest pocket and walked the floor. After awhile he stopped, heaved a long breath and said: "This thing frightens me." He then rang for a messenger and told him to ask the secretary of the treasury to please come over here. Mr. Chase soon put in an appearance. Mr. Lincoln's first greeting to him was: "Mr. Chase, this fellow has actually frightened me." He then stated the cause of his alarm and asked Mr. Chase to explain in detail the *modus operandi*, the system of checks in his office, etc. A lengthy dis-

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Elias Spinner (1802-1890) was appointed treasurer of the United States by Lincoln in March, 1861. He served in that capacity for fourteen years and under three presidents.

<sup>2</sup> Salmon P. Chase (1808-1873) was Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury from 1861 to 1864. He resigned because of strained relations with the President, but on December 6, 1864 Lincoln named Chase Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

cussion followed, Lincoln contending that there were not sufficient checks to afford any degree of safety in the money-making department, and Mr. Chase insisting that all the guards for protection were afforded that he could devise.

In the nature of things he said: "Somebody must be trusted in this emergency. You have entrusted me, and Mr. Spinner is entrusted with untold millions, and we have to trust our subordinates." Words waxed warmer than I had ever known them between these distinguished gentlemen, when Mr. Lincoln feelingly apologized by saying: "Don't think that I am doubting or could doubt your integrity, or that of Mr. Spinner, nor am I finding fault with either of you, but it strikes me that this thing is all wrong and dangerous. I and the country know you and Mr. Spinner, but we don't know your subordinates, who are great factors in making this money and have the power to bankrupt the government in an hour. Yet there seems to be no protection against a duplicate issue of every bill struck, and I can see no way of detecting duplicity until we come to redeem the currency, and even then the duplicate cannot be told from the original."

The result of this was that Lincoln became so impressed with danger from this source that he called the attention of congress to the matter. A joint committee was appointed. Senator Sprague<sup>3</sup> of Rhode Island was chairman, and the result of the investigation, like many others during the war, was never made public to my knowledge. Considering the crippled financial condition of our country and the importance of first-class credit abroad during our war, as little publicity on the subject as possible was doubtless the best for us politically.

## A PROBLEM OF PATRONAGE

Added to Lincoln's other patronage problems was the risk of being accused of nepotism, as is shown by a letter which he wrote to John Todd Stuart, formerly his first law partner, on March 30, 1861. This was less than a month after his inauguration and it hints at the flood of minor details that had swept over the President while at the same time he was confronted with the threat of secession and impending civil war.

This letter has recently been acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library:

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<sup>3</sup> William Sprague, 1830-1915.

*Private*

WASHINGTON, MARCH 30, 1861

DEAR STUART:

Cousin Lizzie shows me your letter of the 27th. The question of giving her the Springfield Post-office troubles me. You see I have already appointed William Jayne a territorial governor, and Judge Trumbull's brother to a Land-office. Will it do for me to go on and justify the declaration that Trumbull and I have divided out all the offices among our relatives? Dr. Wallace, you know, is needy, and looks to me; and I personally owe him much.

I see by the papers, a vote is to be taken as to the Post-office. Could you not set up Lizzie and beat them all? She, being here, need know nothing of it, & therefore there would be no indelicacy on her part. Yours as ever

A. LINCOLN

"Cousin Lizzie" was Mrs. Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, a cousin of Mrs. Lincoln's. The "postoffice vote" which Lincoln mentions was discussed in the *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield) but was never held, and "Cousin Lizzie" did not become the postmistress. The incumbent John M. Lindsay continued in office until August 16, when John Armstrong took over the position. On April 3, Stuart, who was an uncle of "Cousin Lizzie," replied to Lincoln:

I would not let the case of Cousin Lizzie trouble me if I were you. No one will complain if you do not give her the appointment while very many doubtless would complain of her appointment and would have much show of reason because the appointment of a lady would be unusual.

At the time they were partners both Lincoln and Stuart were Whigs but with the dissolution of the party the latter did not join the Republicans. In 1860 he was the Bell-Everett (Constitutional Union Party) candidate for governor, and in 1862 was elected to Congress as a Democrat. In closing his April 3 letter to his friend and former partner, Stuart has this to say for himself:

I wish to say one thing more that my personal attachment and respect for you which I have maintained for thirty years—is as sincere as it ever was—notwithstanding our difference in politics and I hope you every success for you and for our common country.

## ELECTION SPECULATIONS IN 1860

About six weeks before the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 Benjamin Franklin Angel, United States Minister to Norway and Sweden, wrote to his friend and fellow diplomat, Joseph A. Wright, United States Minister to Prussia at Berlin. The two had evidently been discussing, by letter or otherwise, the probable choice of the Democratic National Convention at Charleston, South Carolina and had agreed that Douglas would be the nominee of the regular party organization. But they had not guessed that the Southern Democrats would pull out of the convention and nominate their own candidate, John C. Breckinridge. This split in the ranks practically assured Lincoln's election.

Angel's letter is postmarked Stockholm, Sweden, September 19, 1860, and his speculations as to the outcome of the election were correct. Though a Democrat himself, he saw no chance of defeating Lincoln. With the exception of being a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1864 that nominated McClellan, Angel did not again take an active part in politics. He devoted himself to agriculture at Geneseo, New York where he died in 1894 at the age of seventy-nine.

Joseph Albert Wright (1809-1867) had been Governor of Indiana from 1849 to 1857 when Buchanan appointed him to his diplomatic post. With the outbreak of the Civil War he severed his connections with the Democratic Party and became a supporter of Lincoln's policies. In 1862 he was appointed Senator from Indiana to fill out the unexpired term of Jesse David Bright. Bright, who had been Senator from 1845 to 1862, was expelled from the Senate for having recognized Jefferson Davis (in a letter to him) "President of the Confederate States." Bright's term ended in 1863. In that year President Lincoln appointed Wright a commissioner to the Hamburg Exposition, and in 1865 Andrew Johnson named

him Minister Plenipotentiary to Prussia, where he served until his death in 1867.

Minister Angel wrote as follows:

*Private*

STOCKHOLM SEPT 19. 1860

MY DEAR GOVERNOR

Our speculations in respect to the result of the Charleston convention were very nearly correct, but who could have dreamed that Southern democrats should prefer Lincoln to Douglass? No other conclusion can be drawn from their opposition to Douglass, and the course of Col Orr<sup>4</sup> & Cobb<sup>5</sup> & Toombs<sup>6</sup> surprises me.

At the north I can well imagine that personal hate would induce such men as Bright of your state and Dickinson<sup>7</sup> of mine, to use every effort to defeat Douglass without regard to consequences—but our friends at the south have every thing to lose & nothing to gain, unless they really desire a dissolution of the Union.

There will however be no dissolution, suppose Lincoln to be elected which as matters now stand seems an inevitable sequence. Things have assumed such an aspect in New York that I doubt whether all the opposition combined upon one Electoral ticket could beat the Republicans. What say you of the West. Can we carry Illinois or Indiana against Lincoln?

My family are going to Italy for the Winter if the political condition of the country will permit, and I expect to accompany them as far Berlin and perhaps Vienna, where I intend to spend a day or two with you and we can talk these matters over at leisure. We leave here between the 15th and the 25th of October should the weather be favorable but in the mean time I shall be happy to hear from you—and am always faithfully your friend

HIS EXCELLENCY

B. F. ANGEL

J. A. WRIGHT

<sup>4</sup> James Lawrence Orr, 1822-1873, of South Carolina, was a member of the U. S. House of Representatives from 1849 to 1859. He was a member of the Democratic National Convention at Charleston in 1860 and also a member of the secession convention in 1860.

<sup>5</sup> Howell Cobb, 1815-1868, of Georgia, had been a member of the U. S. House of Representatives for several terms. He was Speaker of the House from 1849 to 1851, and Governor of Georgia, 1851-1853. Cobb was U. S. Secretary of the Treasury from 1857 to 1860. He advocated the immediate secession of Georgia after the election of Abraham Lincoln.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Toombs, 1810-1885, was also from Georgia. He had been a member of the U. S. House of Representatives from 1845 to 1853, and U. S. Senator, 1853-1861. He resigned in 1861 to join the Confederacy. Toombs was an aggressive defender of the Southern position on slavery.

<sup>7</sup> Daniel Stevens Dickinson, 1800-1866, was a Democratic Senator from New York from 1844 to 1851. In 1864 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention, and on April 10, 1865, Abraham Lincoln appointed him U. S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, which position he held until his death.

## LINCOLN IN THE FEBRUARY PERIODICALS

Again the February issues of many national periodicals contained articles or pictures related to the Lincoln story:

Outstanding among the illustrated articles was one by Anne Colver, "At Home With the Abraham Lincolns," in *McCall's Magazine*. This article has a number of photographs in color taken in the Lincoln Home. The people portraying the Lincoln family are from the cast of "The Abe Lincoln Players, Inc." of Springfield that annually presents at New Salem State Park Robert E. Sherwood's *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*. G. William Horsley (Representative in the General Assembly from the 48th District) depicts the part of Lincoln as he has in the play for many years.

Another pictorial story appears in *Ford Times*. It is "Abe Lincoln's New Salem," by Myrtle Vorst Sheppard and the article is illustrated with paintings by Lillian Scalzo of Springfield.

Ralph Fletcher Seymour is both author and artist for "The Story of Abraham Lincoln" in the *Chicago Sunday Tribune Magazine* for February 10. He illustrated his article with six paintings.

Philip Van Doren Stern writes about "The Unknown Conspirator" for *American Heritage*. The name of Joao M. Celestino, Portuguese sea captain, appears in connection with the trial of the conspirators. Stern tells as much about Celestino as he has been able to unearth, but exactly what his connection with the case was is not clear. It may have been that Celestino was an informer.

Another article by Stern appears in *Parade* for February 10. It is titled, "Lincoln's Last Birthday" and concerns Lincoln's interview with Montgomery Blair on February 12, 1865.

Bruce Wheeler's "Lincolnia in 1956" in *Hobbies* takes on special significance, for in 1956 two noted Lincoln scholars died in Springfield: Harry E. Pratt and Benjamin P. Thomas.

In addition to brief tributes to them Wheeler lists the outstanding Lincoln books and magazine articles of the year.

In the same issue of *Hobbies* is an article by Lloyd Ostendorf, "Lincoln's Elusive Photograph." Artist Ostendorf tells of finding an ambrotype of Lincoln in Dayton, Ohio.

*The Saturday Evening Post* for February 16 has an article by Charles W. White, "The Lincoln Cult." This deals primarily with Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, recently appointed head of the Lincoln National Life Foundation Library and Museum at Fort Wayne, Indiana. The article also contains the recipe for what is claimed to be "Abe Lincoln's Favorite Cake."

*Illinois History*, successor to the *Illinois Junior Historian*, devoted its February issue to Lincoln as its predecessor had done for nine years. In addition to eight articles by students of junior high school age there are papers by Dr. Louis A. Warren, William E. Taylor, William A. Steiger and James T. Hickey. The magazine in its new format contains many fine illustrations.

In *Pictorial Living Magazine*, the Sunday supplement of the *Chicago American*, for February 10, Ralph G. Newman writes on his favorite Lincolniana. Newman's Abraham Lincoln Bookshop celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary on Lincoln's birthday.

Hye Bossin, in the *Canadian Film Weekly* for February 6, writes about "Mr. Lincoln's Canadian Advocate." Canada had its antislavery adherents and this article tells the role of Canadian George Brown and of his contribution to the Union cause.

Historian Bruce Catton writes in *Town Journal* of "A Lincoln We Can Live By." He discusses the qualities Lincoln had that will sustain us: patience, tolerance, humor and faith.

Again the fantastic story of the attempt to steal Lincoln's body is told, this time by Alan Hynd in *True, the Man's Magazine*. It is entitled, "The Case of the Plot to Steal Lincoln's Body."

# ILLINOIS IN 1956

BY JAMES N. ADAMS

## JANUARY

- Jan. 2 Chicago's new municipal court traffic center, replacing four courts scattered over the city, is dedicated.
- Jan. 3 Officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Industrial Union Council meet in Chicago to plan the implementation of the recent AFL-CIO merger at the state level.
- Jan. 5 Rand McNally & Company, Chicago map makers, begin the celebration of their centennial year. They have produced well over a billion maps.
- The New York Central's "Aerotrain," made up of aluminum cars weighing less than half as much as conventional passenger cars, makes its first run from Chicago to Detroit in 4 hours 58 seconds, at speeds up to 107 miles per hour. It was built by the Electro-Motive Division of General Motors at La Grange. The Rock Island's "Jet Rocket," a similar train, makes its first run Jan. 30 and goes into regular service between Chicago and Peoria on Feb. 11.
- Joseph Z. Burgee, 58, Chicago architect, dies. As chief superintendent of construction and then partner in Holabird & Root he was responsible for many notable buildings.
- Brigadier General Henry R. Spicer becomes Chief of Staff of the Air Training Command, with headquarters at Scott Air Force Base.
- Jan. 9 Dr. James A. Britton, 79, former professor of medicine at Northwestern University and medical director of International Harvester Company, dies at Altadena, California.
- Jan. 10 Construction is begun on the nineteen-story Inland Steel Company Building, Chicago's first new Loop skyscraper in twenty years.
- Robert C. Zuppke, University of Illinois football coach 1913-1931, receives the Stagg award "for services which have been outstanding in advancement of the best interests of football." Ray Eliot (Nusspickel), present Illini coach and president of the American Football Coaches Association, accepts the award at Los Angeles in "Zup's" behalf.
- Dr. Carl Shipp Marvel of the University of Illinois is awarded the American Chemical Society's Priestly medal for 1956.
- Jan. 11 Frank T. Flynn, 47, noted penologist and professor in the University of Chicago school of social service administration, dies.

- Jan. 12 Roswell Manning, Sr., 71, founder and chairman of the board of the Spartan Printing and Publishing Company, dies in St. Louis. The company, which assumed its present name when it moved from St. Louis to Sparta, Illinois, in 1949, is the largest producer of comic books in the world, producing over a million books per day. It produces its billionth book on Jan. 16.
- Jan. 13 Patrick Flannery, 88, founder of the Railway Clerks and Freight Handlers Union in 1902 and its president until 1912, dies in Chicago.
- Jan. 14 Vice-President Richard M. Nixon presents awards to "America's Ten Outstanding Young Men" at a banquet in Springfield. The awards are sponsored annually by the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce.
- David M. Peters, 44, of Decatur, completing his first term as state representatives, dies.
- Thomas J. Haggerty, 52, former basketball coach at DePaul University and Loyola of Chicago (where he was named "coach of the year" in 1947), and since 1950 at Loyola of the South, dies in New Orleans.
- Gerald Anderson, 13, of Leland, wins the prize for grand champion hog in the fiftieth annual National Western Stock Show at Denver, Colorado.
- Jan. 15 William F. Peter, 72, former vice-president and general counsel for the Rock Island Railroad, dies at Lake Forest.
- Arthur Guy Terry, 77, on the Northwestern University history faculty since 1906 and professor emeritus since 1943, dies.
- Jan. 16 Mrs. Mabel Hartzell Randolph, 79, great-great-granddaughter of Shadrach Bond, first governor of Illinois, dies at Herrin.
- The employees of John Deere & Company go on strike today and do not resume work until May 31.
- Jan. 17 Dr. Frederic C. Woodward, 81, vice-president emeritus of the University of Chicago, dies in Lansing, Michigan. He served as acting president of the University 1928-1929, and in various capacities from 1916 through 1946. He had previously taught law at Northwestern and been dean of the Stanford law school (1907-1916).
- Phil M. Brown is removed as state police chief and assigned a position in the Division of Traffic Safety. Assistant Chief William H. Morris succeeds Brown as police chief.
- Jan. 19 United States District Judge Jackson Leroy Adair of Quincy, 67, dies. He had been Quincy city attorney, Adams County state's

attorney, state senator 1929-1933 and congressman 1933-1937 before receiving the judicial appointment.

- George M. Maypole, 72, state senator 1931-1941 and president pro tem. 1937-1941, dies in Palm Springs, California.
- Jan. 21 Isaac Kuhn, 89, dean of Champaign merchants, dies. Chairman of the board of Joseph Kuhn & Company, he was a member of the commission which established Hillel Foundations for religious work among Jewish students at the University of Illinois and other schools throughout the country.
- Jan. 22 Dr. Edward H. Ochsner, 88, retired Chicago surgeon and author of medical books, dies. He had served as president of the Illinois State Medical Society and the Illinois State Charities Commission.
- Jan. 28 The new Division of Safety Inspection and Education of the Illinois Department of Labor begins full-time operation. George W. Harper, associate professor of mechanical engineering on leave from the University of Illinois, is superintendent of the Division.
- Jan. 29 William S. Jewell, 88, of Lewistown, state senator 1914-1930, dies in Peoria.
- Jan. 30 Robin Roberts of Springfield, pitcher for the Philadelphia Phillies, is awarded a plaque as the outstanding athlete of 1955.
- Jan. 31 Dr. Edward C. Jenkins, 80, dies at Palo Alto, California. He became president of the Chicago Y.M.C.A. College in 1926, and during his nine-year tenure the name of the school was changed to George Williams College and it became coeducational.
- George ("Buck") Weaver, 64, White Sox star from 1912 until he was barred in the "Black Sox" scandal of 1920, dies in Chicago.

## FEBRUARY

- Feb. 1 Dr. L. Vernon Caine, vice-president of Macalester College, St. Paul, becomes president of Illinois College, Jacksonville. Dr. William K. Selden, previous president of Illinois College, had resigned in June, 1955, to become executive secretary of the National Committee on Accreditation, of which committee President David D. Henry of the University of Illinois is elected president on March 4, 1956.
- Feb. 7 William E. Benoit, 72, publisher of the *Oakland (Ill.) Messenger* 1920-1953, dies in Charleston.
- Feb. 8 Robert Morss Lovett, 85, dies. He was on the University of Chicago English faculty 1893-1938, editor of the *Dial* and *New Republic*, cofounder with Harriet Monroe of *Poetry* magazine, and author of a number of learned studies. An associate of Jane Addams at Hull House, he was outspoken in his beliefs and

encouraged similar outspokenness in the literary work of such writers as John Dos Passos and James T. Farrell. In addition, Lovett was involved in a number of political controversies. He helped found the Farmer-Labor Party in 1920; was arrested for disorderly conduct for espousing the cause of pickets at a struck plant in 1933; and was removed in 1943 after four years as secretary of the Virgin Islands when Congress refused to appropriate funds for his salary because of unproved charges of subversive affiliations. An investigation of similar charges (also unproved) had been made by the Illinois Senate in 1935.

- August Sundine, 74, copublisher and executive editor of the *Moline Dispatch* since 1924 and chairman of the Illinois Associated Press in 1950, dies.
- Feb. 9 Chauncey W. Reed, 65, of West Chicago, congressman since 1935, dies at the Naval Hospital in Bethesda, Maryland.
- Feb. 10 Edmund F. Mansure of Chicago resigns as federal General Services Administrator. He had been under fire in connection with the influence of his partner William J. Balmer in insurance for a Cuban nickel plant controlled by GSA.
- Feb. 11 Bishop John Chanler White (retired) of the Springfield Episcopal diocese, 88, dies. Ordained in 1891, he was bishop from 1924 to 1947 and was the oldest bishop in the American succession. He served churches at Thomasboro, Venice, Glen Carbon, Granite City, Rantoul, East St. Louis, Havana, Petersburg, Waverly and Lincoln before rising to the episcopate. His wife was the granddaughter of the Rev. Charles Dresser, officiating clergyman at Abraham Lincoln's wedding and original owner of the Lincoln Home.
- Thomas A. O'Shaughnessy, 85, Chicago stained glass artist, dies. He was made a member of the French Academy of Art for rediscovering the fifth-century method of making stained glass. He also originated the observance of Columbus Day as a holiday.
- Feb. 12 Dr. Harry E. Pratt, 54, Illinois State Historian and Lincoln authority, dies. (A biographical sketch and bibliography appear in the Summer 1956 *Journal*, pages 135-48.)
- Feb. 20 The *Chicago Daily News* is cited by the National Conference of Christians and Jews for "outstanding contributions to the cause of brotherhood."
- Feb. 21 DePaul University's last basketball game in its old gymnasium is its 113th consecutive win there. It has not lost there since 1938. A new gymnasium will be ready for the 1956-1957 season.
- Wheeler Sammons, Sr., 66, president of A. N. Marquis Company of Chicago, publishers of *Who's Who in America*, dies. In 1933 he was managing director of the Drug Institute of America.

- Feb. 22 This is the hundredth anniversary of the famous "anti-Nebraska editorial convention" in Decatur, at which Lincoln and a group of editors agreed on principles which made possible the first Republican state convention at Bloomington in May.
- The *Chicago Daily News* and Chicago's Key clubs are named winners of Freedom Foundation's top award for community programs of 1955 for their work in connection with the Chicago Youth Rally. Other awards are made to Publisher John S. Knight and Cartoonist Vaughn Shoemaker of the *Daily News*, and to the Barington 4-H Girls Club.
- Dr. Paul J. Miner, Glencoe superintendent of schools since 1935, begins a one-year term as president of the American Association of School Administrators.
- Albert M. Myers of Myers Brothers, Springfield, is elected president of the National Association of Retail Clothiers and Furnishers.
- Feb. 24 James P. Allman, 80, Chicago police commissioner 1931-1945, dies.
- Chicago Heights industries are inspected by a Japanese delegation of industrialists, technicians, and labor leaders touring the United States under auspices of the State Department.
- Feb. 25 St. Clair County suffers millions of dollars' damage from a tornado. Six persons are killed and eight injured.
- Charles L. Wagner, 87, concert manager and producer of fifteen Broadway plays, dies in New York. Born in Charleston, Illinois, Wagner started his career in Chicago booking lecture engagements for such celebrities as Bryan, Ingersoll and La Follette.
- Feb. 27 The Chicago Municipal Court celebrates its semicentennial.
- Feb. 29 George D. Stoddard, president of the University of Illinois 1946-1953, is named dean of the New York University College of Education.

## MARCH

- Mar. 1 Secretary of State Charles F. Carpentier announces that Illinois' 4,977,670 registered voters will cast ballots in 9,511 precincts. The figures are less than those of 1954 by 310,000 and 265 respectively.
- Mar. 3 The last run of an interurban electric train in Illinois takes place over the Illinois Terminal System's St. Louis-Springfield tracks. Most of the interurban network which once covered the state is abandoned, and the Terminal uses diesels in its freight service—all it will now operate.
- Edward H. Alexander, 53, secretary of the Illinois Senate since 1941, dies at Jacksonville.

- Mar. 4 The Rev. J. Edgar Park, 76, president of Wheaton College 1926-1944, dies in Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Mar. 6 Albin C. Bro, 62, counselor to foreign students at the University of Chicago and president of Frances Shimer College, Mt. Carroll, 1939-1949, dies.
- Mar. 7 William Green, 82, of Nashville, dies. His forty consecutive years' service (1910-1950) as Washington County judge set a record for the state.
- Mar. 16 John J. Richards, 75, bandmaster and composer, dies in Long Beach, California. During a forty-year career he conducted bands in Rockford, Sterling, and Mt. Morris, as well as such groups as the Ringling-Barnum & Bailey and Long Beach Municipal bands.
- Mar. 17 West Rockford High School wins its second consecutive state basketball championship. Edwardsville is second, Dunbar of Chicago third, and Oak Park fourth.
- Mar. 20 Edna D. Baker, 74, president of the National College of Education in Evanston 1920-1949, dies in Riverside, California.
- Dr. Minnie Sanders Armstrong, 88, the first woman to serve on a jury in the United States, dies in Fort Smith, Arkansas. Practicing at Anna, Illinois, in 1890, she was the only physician available during a trial in which a physician was required to be on the jury.
- Mar. 22 The Illinois Commerce Commission grants the state's railroads a six per cent increase in intrastate freight rates, matching a similar increase for interstate shipments recently granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission.
- Mar. 26 The Rev. Edgar DeWitt Jones, 79, dies in Detroit. He was a minister in Bloomington 1906-1920 and a Lincoln collector and author. (See Spring, 1956 *Journal*, page 70.)
- Edwin Ivan Pilchard, 64, associate professor at the University of Illinois, dies at Urbana. He was a leader in 4-H Club work and superintendent of the junior livestock feeding contest at the International Live Stock Exposition since 1923.
- Mar. 31 Dr. Robert G. Bone is named president of Illinois State Normal University, succeeding Dr. Arthur A. Larsen, acting president since the resignation of Dr. Raymond W. Fairchild in 1955.

## APRIL

- Apr. 1 The first regular shipping service between Chicago and Great Britain starts from Manchester, England.
- Harry M. Moses, 59, Westville native who organized and was president of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, dies in Washington, D.C.

- Apr. 4 Dr. Myron E. Lollar, 75, of Tuscola, state representative 1947-1949 and 1953-1956, dies. For three years he was superintendent of the Illinois Manual Training School for Boys at Glenwood.
- Apr. 15 Dr. Paul Hutchinson, 65, of Winnetka, religious author and managing editor of the *Christian Century* [Chicago] from 1924 until his retirement Jan. 1, 1956, dies at Beaumont, Texas.
- Apr. 16 Justus L. Johnson, 77, of Aurora, Kane County circuit clerk 1906-1920 and clerk of the Second District Appellate Court since that time, dies. He was a former newspaperman and at one time Republican state chairman.
- Leo Spitz, 68, member of the Illinois Racing Commission 1932-1941 and its chairman 1936-1941, dies. He was also president and board chairman of RKO Pictures, cofounder of International Pictures and production head of Universal-International, into which the latter merged.
- Apr. 17 The Interstate Commerce Commission approves the sale of the Illinois Terminal Railroad to a combine of ten roads for \$20,000,000. The sale of the McKinley Bridge between Venice, Illinois, and St. Louis, owned by the Terminal, to a bistate authority is approved shortly afterward.
- Apr. 20 Dr. Nathan Smith Davis III, 66, dies. He was professor emeritus of medicine at Northwestern, president of the Chicago Academy of Sciences, and formerly president and secretary of the Chicago Medical Society and Academy of Internal Medicine and member of the Illinois State Planning Commission (1933-1941).
- Sam H. Thompson, 92, of Quincy, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation 1925-1930 and vice-president of the Federal Farm Board under President Hoover, dies.
- Apr. 22 The centenary of the first train to cross the Mississippi River is celebrated at Rock Island and Davenport, Iowa. This first bridge was struck and seriously damaged two weeks later (May 6, 1856) by the *Effie Afton*, giving rise to one of Abraham Lincoln's most celebrated law cases.
- Bruce Catton, editor of *American Heritage* and Civil War author, is the principal speaker at ceremonies sponsored jointly by Governor William G. Stratton and Lincoln College celebrating the 125th anniversary of Lincoln's arrival at New Salem. (See Summer 1956 *Journal*, pages 219-20.)
- Late-season frosts in southern Illinois destroy an estimated 75 per cent of the state's strawberry crop.
- John Bradley Storrs, 71, dies in Mer, France. A Chicago-born sculptor, he designed the statue of Ceres atop the Chicago Board of

Trade Building and a number of huge figures for the Century of Progress Exposition, as well as many works elsewhere. He was a friend and pupil of Rodin.

- Apr. 24 The Chicago Historical Society celebrates its centennial with a luncheon. The Society has other special events throughout the year, including the publication of a centennial history by its director, Paul M. Angle.
- Governor Stratton appoints Newton C. Farr of Chicago and Raymond N. Dooley, president of Lincoln College, as trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library to serve with Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, president emeritus of MacMurray College. The new appointees succeed Alfred W. Stern and Benjamin P. Thomas. The board later appoints Clyde C. Walton as State Historian as of Sept. 1, to succeed Mrs. Marion D. Pratt who has been Acting State Historian since the death of Dr. Harry E. Pratt. (See Spring 1956 *Journal*, page 128, and Summer 1956 *Journal*, pages 240-41.)
- Apr. 26 John M. Lee, 69, of Chicago, state representative 1923-1933 and senator 1933-1947, dies.
- Apr. 30 Arrah J. Whisler, 89, a pioneer in the development of pneumatic automobile tires, dies at his Oak Park home.

#### MAY

- May 3 Joseph Sabath, 86, judge of the Municipal and Superior courts in Chicago 1910-1952, dies in Winnetka. His tenure on the bench was the longest in Chicago history.
- May 4 The Atomic Energy Commission officially authorizes the Nuclear Power Group, Inc.—a syndicate of nine Midwestern companies headed by Commonwealth Edison of Chicago—to build a \$45,000,000 atomic energy plant in Grundy County near the junction of the Kankakee and Des Plaines rivers.
- May 8 Livingston E. Osborne, 71, of Chicago, chairman of the Illinois Athletic Commission, dies. He was director of the Department of Conservation under Governor Green. Frank Gilmer of Libertyville is named chairman of the Commission on May 28.
- May 10 Two of the eight Horatio Alger Awards presented by the Association of American Schools and Colleges go to Illinoisans: Allen R. Gellman, Elgin, and John M. Joyce, Joliet.
- Hector H. Elwell, 73, former city editor of the *Chicago American* and Chicago director of International News Service, dies in Lake Worth, Florida.
- May 11 Governor Stratton presents awards to thirty-seven Junior Historians of the Year. (See Summer, 1956 *Journal*, pages 249-53.)

- May 12 The Hyde Park area of Chicago celebrates the centennial of the founding of Hyde Park as a village.
- May 14 Mrs. Mary F. Ralston, 99, daughter of Lincoln's law partner William H. Herndon, dies in Springfield.
- May 17 An important opinion by Attorney General Latham Castle approves the legality of guaranteed annual wage plans. This completes approval by states in which two-thirds of the affected workers live, and allows the program to go into effect nationally on June 1.
- May 18 The Illinois State Historical Society begins its two-day spring tour of Dixon and Ogle County. (See Summer 1956 *Journal*, pages 239-40.)
- May 19 Pat Flaherty of Chicago sets a new lap record of 146.056 miles per hour and a ten-mile record of 145.596 in qualifying tests for the Indianapolis 500-mile race. He wins the race on May 30 at an average speed of 128.490 miles per hour.
- May 20 A marker to the memory of Dr. George Fisher, first sheriff of Randolph County, is dedicated at the highway junction at Ruma. (See Summer 1956 *Journal*, page 246.)
- May 25 Edward E. Driemeyer, 48, of Herrin, former state commander of the American Legion and circulation manager of the *Southern Illinoisan*, dies.
- May 26 President Sukarno of Indonesia, his twelve-year-old son Guntur and a group of Indonesian officials visit New Salem, the Lincoln Home and Tomb, and nearby farms. After a dinner at the Governor's Mansion they leave the next day to continue their tour of the United States.
- Al Simmons (Aloysius H. Szymanski), star of the Chicago White Sox in the 1930's after gaining fame with the Philadelphia Athletics, dies in Milwaukee.
- May 29 The Republican state convention is held in Bloomington, celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the party's first state convention, also held in that city, at which Lincoln delivered his famous "lost speech." A plaque given by the McLean County Historical Society is unveiled.

## JUNE

- June 1 A new bridge at Shawneetown is opened, replacing the ferry service which has operated at that point for 146 years—the first 111 by one family.
- Matthew Woll, 76, AFL-CIO vice-president, dies. His career as a union official began in the Chicago local of the Photo Engravers Union, of which he became international president.

- June 3 Wilbur J. Cash, 69, of Bloomington, state senator 1941-1953, dies.
- June 10 Dr. Howard W. Trovillion, 57, of Godfrey, chief pilot of the Mississippi River Parkway Planning Commission, dies.
- June 11 Dr. Robert Bensley, 88, professor emeritus and former head of the department of anatomy at the University of Chicago, dies. He was an international authority on cell structure and the recipient of a gold key from the Diabetic Society of America for his work on that disease.
- June 12 Dr. Raymond W. Fairchild, 66, president of Illinois State Normal University 1933-1955 and previously professor of education at Northwestern and superintendent of Elgin schools, dies.
- June 13 Frederick O. Mercer of Canton is confirmed as United States district judge for the Southern District of Illinois, succeeding J. Earl Major, retired. William G. Juergens of Chester is nominated United States circuit judge to succeed Fred L. Wham, retired.
- June 16 Harold G. Baker, 57, of Belleville, secretary of the Illinois Public Aid Commission and senior vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, dies of a heart attack. He was formerly United States district attorney for the Eastern District of Illinois.
- June 28 The nation's first atomic furnace for private industrial research is placed in operation on the campus of Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago. It is sponsored by Armour Research Foundation.
- June 30 Dr. Walter H. Zinn ends a ten-year stay as director of Argonne National (atomic) Laboratory near Lemont. He was in charge of constructing the first atomic pile at Stagg Field, Chicago, in 1942.

## JULY

- July 1 The steel industry in Chicago and throughout the country is hit by a strike, which as it continues forces increasing layoffs in other industries to which steel is essential. Production is gradually resumed about August 1.
- W. B. Davis, 92, editor and publisher of the *Mt. Sterling Democrat-Message* for seventy years, past president of the Illinois Press Association and twice postmaster of Mt. Sterling, dies.
- July 16 State Auditor Orville E. Hodge resigns under fire and is later sentenced to the penitentiary for his defalcations. Lloyd Morey, president emeritus of the University of Illinois and its comptroller 1916-1953, takes over on July 18 to fill the unexpired term, and the state central committee on July 25 chooses State Senator Elbert Smith of Decatur as the Republican candidate in the November election.

## AUGUST

- Aug. 2 Albert Woolson, 109, last survivor of the Grand Army of the Republic, dies in Duluth, Minnesota.
- Aug. 9 President Dwight D. Eisenhower vetoes another bill to increase water diversion at Chicago to an amount sufficient for sanitary and navigational purposes.
- Aug. 10 Chicago's Congress Street Expressway is opened west from Grant Park. The last section of the Calumet Expressway—from the Lincoln Highway to Sauk Trail—is also opened today.
- The 104th Illinois State Fair opens for ten days.
- Aug. 13 William H. Malone, 79, former chairman of the Illinois Tax Commission and member of the State Board of Equalization, dies. He also served as mayor of Park Ridge.
- Aug. 16 The Democratic national convention, which convened in Chicago on Aug. 13, nominates Adlai E. Stevenson, governor of Illinois 1949-1953 and presidential nominee in 1952, for the presidency. Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee is nominated for vice-president.
- Robert E. Sherwood's *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* opens its eleventh season at New Salem State Park.
- Aug. 25 Mrs. Maud N. Peffers, 58, of Aurora, renominated in April for her tenth term in the Illinois House of Representatives, dies.
- Aug. 29 Ralph L. Maxwell, 51, of Nashville, justice of the Illinois Supreme Court since 1951, dies.
- Aug. 31 Harry Gill, 80, University of Illinois track coach 1904-1933, dies in Canada.

## SEPTEMBER

- Sept. 4 Judge Richard B. Austin of Chicago is selected by the Democratic committee to replace Herbert Paschen, nominated in April, as candidate for governor.
- Sept. 6 Felix Borowski, 84, Chicago composer and music critic and former president of the Chicago Musical College, dies. He had written the Chicago Symphony program notes for nearly fifty years.
- Sept. 7 Robert E. Romano, 51, state representative since 1951, dies in his Chicago apartment.
- Sept. 8 Athens celebrates its one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary.
- Sept. 10 Homer S. Cummings, native Chicagoan who became President Franklin D. Roosevelt's attorney general (1933-1939), dies in Washington.
- Sept. 17 The Illinois Central Railroad celebrates the centennial of the completion of its original lines (Cairo to Dunleith [East Dubuque])

and branch from Centralia to Chicago). The celebration is held at Mason in Effingham County—named for Roswell B. Mason, the Central's chief engineer and later mayor of Chicago—where the last rail was laid.

- Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago and Chairman Austin Wyman and Executive Director Charles L. Dearing of the Illinois Toll Road Commission participate in dedicatory exercises for the Indiana Turnpike at South Bend. This completes the turnpike connection between Chicago and the Atlantic coast, except for 16.7 miles through Gary and Hammond opened in November.
- Sept. 19 Charles A. Tilt, 70, founder of the Diamond T Motor Car Company and its president for forty years until becoming board chairman in 1945, dies at Trout Lake, Wisconsin.
- Sept. 22 Governor Stratton officially opens construction on the first Illinois toll road, near Rockford.
- John Daniels of Mulberry Grove wins the national contour plow-championship at the contest held at Newton, Iowa.
- Sept. 25 President Eisenhower makes a speech on agriculture in Peoria—his only Illinois speech of his campaign for re-election.

#### OCTOBER

- Oct. 1 Dr. Robert G. Buzzard, president of Eastern Illinois State College for 23 years (and its second president in its 57-year history), retires. He is succeeded by Dr. Quincy Doudna, dean of administration at Stevens Point (Wisconsin) State College.
- Oct. 4 Lake Forest College begins the observance of its centennial year.
- The Rev. Harmon J. McGuire, president of the Illinois Synod, United Lutheran Church in America, dies at his Park Ridge home. His theological education and pastoral work were all in Illinois.
- Oct. 12 The fifty-seventh annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society begins in Chicago. (See Autumn 1956 *Journal*, pages 343-45.)
- Oct. 13 Walter T. Gunn, 77, of Danville, justice of the Illinois Supreme Court 1938-1951, dies.
- Oct. 16 Julius G. Luhrsen, 79, of Chicago, dies. He was founder of the American Train Dispatchers' Association and its president 1917-1935, secretary-treasurer of the Railroad Labor Executives Association (1935-1945) and member of the Railway Retirement Board (1945-1950).
- Oct. 20 The *Chicago Tribune* buys the *Chicago American*. Both papers will continue publication under their separate names.

- The Lincoln statue in Lincoln Square, Chicago, is dedicated. (See Autumn, 1956 *Journal*, pages 335-36.)
- Oct. 21 The Rev. Claybourne W. Longman, 72, former executive secretary of the Illinois Council of Churches, dies at Jacksonville.
- Oct. 25 Carl B. Roden, 86, former president of the Chicago, Illinois and American library associations, dies. During his tenure as chief librarian of the Chicago Public Library (1918-1950) sixty-one branch libraries were established and the number of volumes increased tenfold.
- Oct. 27 Knoxville celebrates its one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary.

## NOVEMBER

- Nov. 6 The Republicans sweep the general election. President Eisenhower, Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Governor Stratton, Lieutenant Governor John W. Chapman, Secretary of State Charles F. Carpentier, and Attorney General Latham Castle are re-elected; Elmer J. Hoffman, Elbert Smith and Mrs. Earle Benjamin Searcy are elected State Treasurer, Auditor of Public Accounts and Clerk of the Supreme Court respectively.
- Nov. 8 Marshall Field III, 63, founder of the *Chicago Sun* (now *Sun-Times*) and Field Foundation, and grandson of the founder of the famous Chicago store, dies in New York.
- Nov. 10 Victor Young, 56, native Chicagoan who rose to fame as a composer of hit songs and movie scores, dies at Palm Springs, California.
- Nov. 16 Arthur O. Lindsay, 78, publisher of the *Quincy Herald-Whig* and its predecessors since 1915, dies. He was a brother of Frank M. Lindsay, president of Lindsay-Schaub Newspapers.
- Nov. 24 John A. Corkery, 70, managing editor of the *Aurora Beacon-News* and on the paper's staff for fifty-four years, dies.
- Nov. 29 Benjamin P. Thomas, 54, Springfield Lincoln author, dies. (See pages 7-23 of this *Journal*.)
- McCormick Theological Seminary of Chicago announces its purchase of nine of the Dead Sea scrolls.

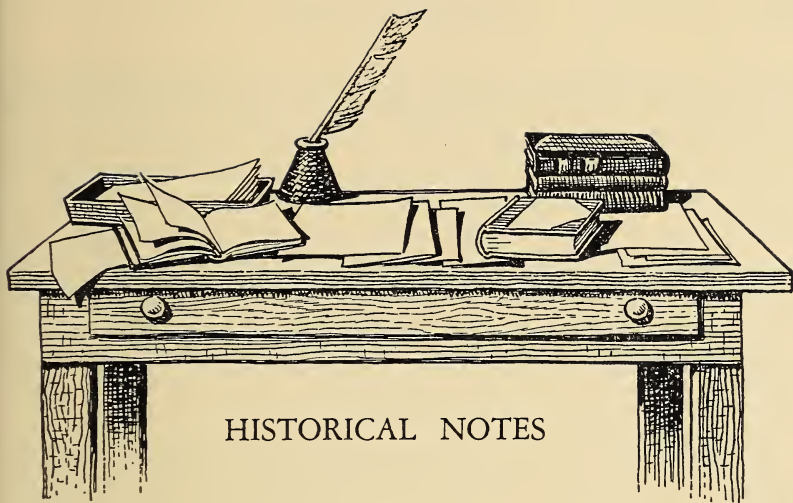
## DECEMBER

- Dec. 10 Dr. John Bardeen of the University of Illinois is presented his share of the Nobel Prize for physics by King Gustaf VI of Sweden in Stockholm. Bardeen, Dr. Walther H. Brattain and Dr. William Shockley won the prize for their discovery of the transistor effect in electronics.
- Jacob Frisch, 83, of Springfield, state representative 1917-1923, dies.

- Mrs. Grace Comiskey, 62, president of the Chicago White Sox and daughter-in-law of the club's founder, dies.
- Dec. 15 Ground is broken for the new MacMurray College for Men at Jacksonville.
- Dec. 17 "In view of the emergency in navigation caused by low water in the Mississippi River" the United States Supreme Court allows Illinois to increase the water diversion from Lake Michigan at Chicago from 1,500 to 8,500 cubic feet per second until Jan. 31, 1957.
- Dec. 18 Three of the eight men selected as the first to be honored in the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics' new Hall of Fame at Little Rock, Arkansas, are Illinoisans: George Musso (Millikin-Chicago Bears), Tony Blazine (Illinois Wesleyan-Chicago Cardinals) and Charles P. Lantz (coach and athletic director at Eastern Illinois State College 1911-1952).
- Dec. 20 The heaviest and longest-continuing fog "in the history of Midwestern weather reporting" snarls land and air traffic throughout Illinois and nearby states.
- Sam Schaumleffel, 69, of Monmouth, state representative 1939-1953, dies.
- Dec. 24 Bernard J. Fallon, 76, dies in his Chicago home. During his career he headed the Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee, Chicago, South Shore & South Bend and Chicago, Aurora & Elgin railroads, the Chicago Rapid Transit Company and the Evanston Bus Company.
- Dec. 30 State Representative James P. Lannon, 76, of Saunemin, dies. He had served in the House since 1945.
- Dec. 31 Among new records set by the state during 1956 are: Corn 596,000,000 bushels, and soybeans 136,000,000 bushels, both leading all other states; cash receipts from farm marketing, up \$125,000,000; taxes collected by the Department of Revenue (fiscal 1956) up \$82,000,000; licensed pilots, 10,891 (up 1,439); non-agricultural employment, 3,492,000 (up 26,700).
- Despite an increase in Chicago city vehicle registrations to an all-time high of 952,473, the city had fewer traffic deaths (353) in 1956 than in any other year of the 28 for which records have been kept. Traffic injuries were the lowest in thirteen years.

#### CITY AND TOWN CENTENNIALS, 1956

Breese, June 29-July 1; Broadwell, Dec. 9; Buckley, June 21-23; Catlin, July 20; Colchester, early September; DeKalb, June 10-18; Durand, July 11; Forest Park, June 17-24; Gridley, July 18; Harvard, June 6-9; Illiopolis, Aug. 23-25; Neoga, Aug. 14-15; Nokomis, July 26-28; Pana, July 1-4; Peotone, July 29-Aug. 5; Viola, July 2-4; Windsor, Aug. 26-Sept. 1.



## HISTORICAL NOTES

### A GLIMPSE OF THE GALENA LEAD REGION IN 1846

EDITED BY LARRY GARA

By the early eighteenth century French miners were working the rich deposits of the Wisconsin-Illinois lead region and mining continued until the mid-nineteenth century when most settlers in the area turned to cultivating the rich prairie soil.<sup>1</sup> Until 1830 the lead region centering around the Fever (Galena) River was the only settled section of northern Illinois, and even after that date its mineral resources proved useful to those who promoted and advertised the area to prospective settlers. Cyrus Woodman was one of the many who migrated to the lead region and became its enthusiastic promoter.

Woodman left his native New England in December, 1839 when he accepted employment as land agent for the Boston and Western Land Company with headquarters at Winslow, Illinois.<sup>2</sup> The company holdings in-

<sup>1</sup> About ninety per cent of the lead deposits of the Upper Mississippi Valley were in the present state of Wisconsin and the other ten per cent in Illinois and Iowa. However, Galena was an important center because it became a main shipping point for sending lead down the Mississippi. There is an excellent study of the lead region and its history in Joseph Schafer, *The Wisconsin Lead Region (Wisconsin Domesday Book, General Studies*, vol. 3, Madison, 1932). Volume two of R. Carlyle Buley's *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815-1840* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1951), 55-57, 118-21 contains a good short summary of lead region history.

<sup>2</sup> Larry Gara, "Yankee Land Agent in Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XLIV (Summer, 1951), 120-41 describes Woodman's work as land agent. The same author's *Westernized Yankee: The Story of Cyrus Woodman* (Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, 1956) gives a more complete account of Woodman's business activities in the lead region.

cluded numerous tracts in Illinois and Wisconsin Territory, and his work as agent familiarized him with the lead mining area. In 1843 the Boston and Western Land Company was dissolved and its holdings were parceled out to the individual stockholders. The following year Woodman became the law partner of Cadwallader C. Washburn<sup>3</sup> who had settled in Mineral Point, Wisconsin Territory. The Washburn and Woodman firm soon became primarily a land agency, and the partners later branched out into banking, lead shot manufacturing and timberland speculation. Woodman took every occasion to tell others about the resources and possibilities of the lead region and while on a business trip to the East in 1845 he suggested that his Bowdoin College classmate, Samuel Phillips Abbott, should venture west to fill a vacant pastorate in Mineral Point.<sup>4</sup>

Abbott was interested but at the time he was not free to leave New England. He was the head of a family school of twelve boys in the midst of a school year. He also wanted further information and asked Woodman a number of specific questions concerning travel costs, the appearance of the lead region country, and the general character of its inhabitants.<sup>5</sup> Although Woodman answered his inquiries a year later, Abbott never came West. The letter, in addition to Woodman's personal impressions, gives a rather full picture of life in the lead region in the 1840's.<sup>6</sup>

MINERAL POINT, WISCONSIN TERY.  
APRIL 12, 1846.

REV. SAM'L. P. ABBOTT  
FARMINGTON ME.

DEAR SAM:

Yours of the 18th of April last was recd. by me in Boston only a few days previously to my departure for the West. On my arrival here, I found that a minister of the Presbyterian order had been settled here during my

<sup>3</sup> Cadwallader C. Washburn (1818-1882) was also from New England. After eleven years of partnership with Woodman in Mineral Point, Washburn was elected to Congress for three successive terms. He served in the Civil War as a major-general, then—after a term as governor of Wisconsin—he moved to Minneapolis where he made a fortune in flour milling. John D. Hicks, "Cadwallader Colden Washburn," in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Phillips Abbott (1814-1849) went to Andover Seminary after graduating from Bowdoin College. Following several years in the ministry he opened a family school for boys at Farmington, Me. He never attained the success of his two brothers who were authors, possibly due to chronic ill health which led to an early death. Nehemiah Cleaveland, *History of Bowdoin College*, edited and completed by Alpheus Spring Packard (Boston, 1882), 485-86; Francis Gould Butler, *A History of Farmington, Franklin County, Maine* (Farmington, 1885), 103, 352-54.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel P. Abbott to Cyrus Woodman, April 18, 1845, in the Cyrus Woodman Papers, Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

<sup>6</sup> Woodman to Abbott, April 12, 1846, in the Woodman Papers. Permission to publish the letter has kindly been granted.

absence, and as I had therefore nothing special to say to you on that subject and as I have been constantly busy since my return from the East, I have omitted to answer your kind letter. I will now proceed to answer the inquiries made in it.

What are the travelling expenses from Boston to Mineral Point?

From Boston to Buffalo by railroad, about 40 hours, & about..... \$16.—

“ Buffalo to Milwaukie, average say 5 days, first class of steam-boats—distance through the Lakes, about 1000 miles, & fare from \$10 to \$12.—say..... 12.

“ Milwaukie to Mineral Point, about 120. miles—stage-coach,—fare ..... 6.—

For porters, meals, &c—say ..... 6.—

This would be ample, & by taking the N.Y. canal, one  
might save \$5. which would pay expenses from Buffalo \$40.—  
to Niagara or Lockport to Niagara.

Or if one should go through New York to Philadelphia, & thence to Pittsburgh or to Baltimore & thence to Wheeling—either of which, are fine routes and greatly travelled—he could then come by the Ohio & Mississippi Rivers to Galena—40 miles from this place. The expenses on this route from Boston through, would be about the same as by the Lakes, if there was a fair stage of water in the Rivers, but if the water was low the expenses would probably be \$10. more, or \$50. in the whole. One travelling for pleasure should come one route and return by the other and in the Spring or early part of Summer it would be better to come by the Rivers.

The distance from Mineral Point to the nearest prominent city? From Milwaukie & Chicago our distance is 120 or 130. miles; the former I suppose, has about six & the latter, about ten thousand inhabitants. Galena is the nearest point to which steamboats come. It has probably four or five thousand inhabitants. An immense quantity of lead is annually shipped from this place and it is a very busy and thriving place.

You ask in regard to the general character of the inhabitants &c &c. I would say in reply that they are *men*, and on the whole have I suppose, just about as much human nature in them, as any equal number of men that you will find anywhere else. The proportion of the cultivated & refined is much less than with you for our population embraces citizens of nearly all civilized countries. The most of the foreign population, however, is from Cornwall in England—Cornish miners, who are principally engaged in mining.<sup>7</sup>

The mining region of Wisconsin, South of the Wisconsin River, is, speaking generally, about 70 miles long by 40. wide, embracing the Coun-

<sup>7</sup> Albert Louis Copeland's "The Cornish in Southwest Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 14:301-34 contains interesting observations on the manners, customs and language of the Cornish in the lead region.

ties of Grant and Iowa & part of the Counties of Green & Dane. If you can refer to one of Smith's large maps of the United States, published some two or three years since, you will readily perceive how it is situated. The number of inhabitants in this Mineral District is now probably about 25,000 and constantly increasing. The character of the miners resembles in many respects that of sailors and lumbermen. There are vices and virtues common to them all. In years gone by this was a "hard country," the pistol & the bowie knife, drinking & gambling were every where to be seen. The former implements are now rarely used, but the vices last named are still very prevalent, though I think the change for the better is constant and rapid. There have certainly been great improvements since I came into the country six years ago.

You may perhaps think that as this is a good mining country it is a poor farming country. The contrary is true. Everything that can be raised in this latitude is raised here in abundance and with little labor. The Mineral District is finely watered & abounds with never failing springs. The country is more rolling, more diversified with hill & valley than the Illinois country, but still we have large prairies and some of them are the finest I have ever seen. The country is also very healthy—healthier, I think than any part of New England, because consumption, very rarely, if ever originates here. On the whole, it has great natural advantages & will eventually become one of the richest interior countries in the world.

But after all you can learn but little from general descriptions. You must come and see the country for yourself. If you could leave home & come & stay two or three months among us, I am strongly inclined to think that you would ultimately make your residence here. My impression is that you would find employment either as a teacher of youth or as a clergyman with little or no difficulty and at fair prices.

I was speaking to our Presbyterian minister a few days since about you. He seemed anxious that you should come. He says that a school teacher is now wanted in this place, and he also informed [me] that the Church at Platteville will soon be without a pastor. Platteville is about 18 miles from this place & 25. from Galena & is situated in the midst of a fine farming and mineral country. For a Presbyterian or Congregational minister I consider it one of the best locations in the West. The village has upwards of 1000 inhabitants & the Church, Mr. [Zachary] Eddy (the Presbyterian minister here) tells me, is in good condition. There is an academy also in a flourishing condition. Mr. Magoun,<sup>8</sup> a graduate of Bowdoin is the principal & a Miss Johnson a sister of Aaron C. Adams<sup>9</sup> wife is instructress in the female depart-

<sup>8</sup> George Frederic Magoun (1821-1896) served as educator and clergyman in a number of Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa communities. He later became president of Grinnell College, holding that post from 1862 until 1884, after which he taught philosophy for an additional six years. John Scholte Nollen, "George Frederic Magoun," *Dictionary of American Biography*.

<sup>9</sup> Aaron Chester Adams was a classmate of Woodman's at Bowdoin who later was graduated from a theological seminary and held a number of positions as Congregational minister in various Maine towns. Cleaveland, *History of Bowdoin*, 486.

ment. Ben C. Eastman <sup>10</sup> & George W. Lakin,<sup>11</sup> lawyers from Maine and also a number of others from our state are settled there. Come & make us a visit at the least, and make my house your home. Don't come, however with hopes too much excited. The world, the flesh, and the Devil you will find here as well as in Maine.

With constant regard, your friend & classmate,

CYRUS WOODMAN.

## FRANK H. HALL AND PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

Walter B. Hendrickson, professor of history at MacMurray College has a postscript to add to his article "The Three Lives of Frank H. Hall," which appeared in the Autumn 1956 issue of this *Journal*. He says that Hall's position on "progressive education," one of the most hotly discussed subjects of the 1890's, was not made clear, and he has recently come upon a "Syllabus of a Lecture" by the educator-inventor-agriculturist which has been helpful.

"Progressive education," Hendrickson explains, was a general term applied to the philosophy and practice of education advocated by John Dewey and his followers, which had in turn been affected somewhat by the studies in psychology of Henry James and G. Stanley Hall. Briefly, the "New Education," as Hall called it, held that the child was educated as he was exposed to an increasing number of sense perceptions, progressively more complex as his body grew. This was at variance with the "Old Education" which considered that the child was but an incomplete adult who could comprehend ideas and perceive the physical world only incompletely. In teaching, ideas and physical experience were never to be simplified or presented to the child in an order of progressive difficulty or complexity, but he was to be confronted over and over again with the full-blown idea or sense perception until finally, when he became an adult, he would understand the ideas in their entirety and would react to his physical environment in an adult manner.

Hall had studied this "New Education" and had accepted some of it, according to Hendrickson, but, along with many school administrators, he was not ready to discard a reasonably satisfactory theory or practice for one that had not been fully tried. Like any other middle-of-the-roader who has to deal with practical, everyday problems, he was not a pioneer. The "Syllabus" of the Hall lecture gives an idea of his educational philosophy and

<sup>10</sup> Ben C. Eastman (1812-1856) entered Wisconsin politics and served two terms in Congress as a Democrat. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, 1950), 1115.

<sup>11</sup> George W. Lakin (1817-1884) served as a Whig member of the Wisconsin senate in 1848-1849 and then became United States District Attorney, a post he held for five years.

the range of the problems with which he was concerned. The original, which is a single printed sheet, 5½ by 7¼ inches in size, was supplied to Hendrickson by Nelson Coon, librarian of the Perkins School for the Blind, Watertown, Massachusetts. It is not dated but Hendrickson says that almost certainly it is from the period of Hall's second superintendency of the Illinois Institution for the Education of the Blind at Jacksonville (1895-1902). As far as Hendrickson has been able to learn, this is the only existing copy. It is titled "Light Out of Darkness," and the text reads:

I. THE RESULTS OF SENSE-PERCEPTION THE BASIS OF THOUGHT.

*"The elements of soul life are sense perceptions."* There are no *inborn ideas*. There is simply *inborn capacity*. Five avenues through which nerve excitation may be transmitted to the soul. Result if all these avenues were closed at birth. Open one avenue—smell; another—taste; another—touch (Helen Keller and Laura Bridgman); another—hearing (Lewis B. Carll, D. D. Wood, Fannie Crosby); another—sight. Sight gives rise to nine-tenths of our sense perceptions.

II. THE BLIND CHILD—

(a) In the cradle: moving about the home; at school. (b) Results of school training: in hearing; in memory; in the exercise of the representative powers; in the exercise of the reflective powers. (c) Receives a small amount of crude material and elaborates it very thoroughly.

III. THE CHILD IN ITS NORMAL CONDITION—

1. (a) Receives a very large amount of crude material but elaborates it very imperfectly. (b) Mere sensation is not perception. (c) Mere sense-perception is not thought. *"Perceiving without the judgment's synthesis and separation of elements, would be purely mechanical activity of mind, but not thinking,"* says Lindner. (d) The utterance of mere words is not evidence of thought.
2. The fundamental error in THE OLD EDUCATION was (and is) the acceptance of mere words as evidence of wisdom.
3. The danger in THE NEW EDUCATION is the acceptance of mere sense-perception as evidence of thought power.
4. The natural order of intellectual exercise: (a) perceive; (b) compare the results of perception; (c) conceive—"see with the mind's eye;" (d) compare the results of conception; (e) exercise the power of constructive conception; (f) *compare*, COMPARE, COMPARE. *"It may startle you to learn,"* says Sir Wm. Hamilton, *"that the highest function of the mind is nothing higher than comparison."*

IV. APPLICATION OF THE FOREGOING TO THE TEACHING OF ARITHMETIC; OF GEOGRAPHY; OF SCIENCE; OF HISTORY.

## V. CONCLUSION.

Sense-perceptions are the blocks with which we build, *but we must build*. To teach words that express the wisdom of the ages, but are utterly devoid of content so far as the child is concerned, is to attempt to begin building at the top. To lead children to perceive and express, and nothing more, is to begin at the bottom and stay where you begin. The representative powers—the memory, the imagination, and the faculty of constructive conception—these must be exercised from the first; in a small degree at the outset, but the *time to begin* such exercise is immediately after the first successful effort at perception. This work must be continued and comparisons instituted all along the line. Lead the pupil to compare sense-concept with sense-concept, sense-concept with image-concept, image-concept with image-concept, and logical concept with logical concept. That he may be able to do this, see that he possesses a stock of concepts to be compared and not simply a stock of conventional symbols of concepts.

## THE WIT OF THE WESTERN PEOPLE

Some types of humor seem to have changed very little in the past century as is shown by the following account from James Silk Buckingham's *The Eastern and Western States of America* (London, [1842] 3 Vols.), II: 272-73:

Others of our companions varied the political conversation by the exercise of their wit, in the exaggerated strain so characteristic of Western manners. The unhealthy condition of some of the Western rivers, the Illinois in particular, was the subject of their discourse; when one asserted, that he had known a man to be so dreadfully afflicted with the ague, from sleeping in the fall on its banks, that he shook to such a degree as to shake all the teeth out of his head. This was matched by another, who said there was a man from his State, who had gone to the Illinois to settle, and the ague seized him so terribly hard, that he shook all the clothes from his body, and could not keep a garment whole, for it unravelled the very web, thread by thread, till it was all destroyed! The climax was capped, however, by the declaration of a third, that a friend of his who had settled on the banks of the Illinois, and built a most comfortable dwelling for himself and family, was seized with an ague, which grew worse and worse, until its fits became so violent, that they at length shook the whole house about his ears, and buried him in its ruins! Such is the kind of wit in which the Western people especially delight.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Lincoln as They Saw Him.* Edited and Narrated by Herbert Mitgang.  
(Rinehart & Company, Inc.: New York and Toronto, 1956.  
Pp. xv, 519. \$6.00.)

Excerpts from contemporary newspapers and periodicals dealing with Abraham Lincoln form the text of this book. Mitgang's comments follow the format of Paul M. Angle's *Lincoln Reader*—short introductions to each chapter and a sentence or so introducing each excerpt. Since Mitgang's sources, however, unlike Angle's biographies, do not within themselves evaluate and explain, the comments in *Lincoln as They Saw Him* are insufficient to complete the story. Lincolnians can fill in the gaps for themselves; but the neophyte would be bewildered.

The fifty-three different sources from which Mitgang quotes directly, and the dozen or so more quoted by his sources, range chronologically from Lincoln's announcement of his candidacy for the legislature in the *Sangamo Journal* of 1832 to editorials on his assassination in 1865. They cover a wide range geographically and politically. There are Union newspapers from Bangor, Maine to San Francisco; Confederate papers from Charleston, New Orleans, Richmond, Dallas and Houston; *The New York World*, *The Crisis* [Columbus], the *Chicago Times* and other Northern "Copperhead" papers; "Parson" Brownlow's *Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator*, representing Southern Unionism; *The South* of Baltimore and the *Louisville Journal*, giving border-state opinion on both sides; and excerpts from British, French and Italian publications for the European viewpoint.

The bulk of the material for the earlier years comes necessarily from Illinois papers; Alton, Belleville, Chicago, Galesburg, Lacon, Peoria, Petersburg and Springfield are represented (with the Illinois State Historical

Library, which furnished photostats and typescripts of this material, receiving proper credit). The basic sources for the war years are the famous New York triumvirate, James Gordon Bennett's *Herald*, Henry J. Raymond's *Times* and Horace Greeley's *Tribune*.

The editor commits one major error of interpretation in saying that "Lincoln outwitted the Democrats" in his famous "jump" from the window in 1840. As the late Dr. Harry E. Pratt showed in the Winter 1955 issue of this *Journal*—and as a careful reading of the *Illinois State Register* excerpt printed both there and in this book would show—it was definitely the Democrats who outwitted Lincoln. The title "Congressman Lincoln" for a chapter covering 1846-1854 is misleading.

The twenty-seven illustrations grouped in the center of the book are a well-balanced selection of photographs, cartoons and facsimiles. The text of the cartoons reduced to book size is unfortunately unreadable. The back page of the jubilant *Freeport Wide-Awake* following Lincoln's election in 1860 is reproduced on the back of the jacket. Explanatory notes identifying persons and places would have added to the usefulness of the book. The index is inadequate.

For the reader already possessing a general background, *Lincoln as They Saw Him* will add interesting and valuable sidelights on the Civil War and the Civil War President. Lincoln groups, Civil War Round Tables and the like should find it invaluable. Mitgang deserves a vote of thanks for rescuing these items from the inaccessibility of newspaper files and making them available in convenient form to the public.

JAMES N. ADAMS

*Rebel Brass: The Confederate Command System.* By Frank E. Vandiver. (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1956. Pp. 143. \$3.00.)

With this brief volume Dr. Vandiver has stuck the historian's foot in a side door of "The War of Northern Aggression" and years and years will be required for him and other writers to open it the rest of the way. He announces in the foreword that he intends to go no further with the subject of the Confederate command system at this time, and proceeds in the text to pose a series of provocative questions.

The Confederate government was an organization set up to sustain the rights of the separate states—particularly the right to remain separate. It was a revolution headed by a conservative—Jefferson Davis. It found itself in a modern total war with the equipment for a medieval tournament. It was without anyone who could envision, as Lincoln did for the North, an

over-all strategy for the whole conflict. To these handicaps the author adds the problem of logistics. He is a recognized authority on the subject and devotes more than a third of his text to it. The result seems to be a slight imbalance, but not enough to be upsetting.

So short a book on so broad a topic as the Confederate command system could be either a distillation of a mass of information or a skimming of the surface. Happily, *Rebel Brass* is in the former category, an authoritative introduction that should be read before going further into the subject. The book has a four-page bibliographical note, an adequate index and end-paper maps of the Confederate Military Departments, 1863-1864.

H. F. R.

*The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865.* By Dudley Taylor Cornish. (Longmans, Green and Company: New York, 1956. Pp. xiii, 337. \$6.00.)

The story of the participation and contributions by Negro troops in the Union Army has long been a neglected and obscure chapter in the military history of the Civil War. The only previous study appeared in 1888, so a modern re-evaluation has been long overdue. Professor Cornish provides this revision by telling a well-written story, correcting as he does so previous misconceptions, inaccuracies, and gross errors.

The Civil War was fought largely over the slavery question. Not until 1863, however, was the Negro himself permitted to help secure his own freedom and given recognition as part of the Union Army. Professor Cornish recounts the varying administration policies and wavering army practices to show the steps by which Negro troops finally secured this status. The result was that by mid-1863, the nation was firmly committed to the use of the "strong black arm." As such, this book is the story of the broadening war aims of the Lincoln administration and the extension of the North's crusading zeal and ardor to bring the conflict to a successful end.

Steps in this recognition were not easily secured. Professor Cornish points out that the Negro had to combat the obstacles of a pay differential, prejudice, indifference, and the problem of what might happen to him if he were captured. In the end, concludes Professor Cornish, the Negro won his own right to fight by his participation and performance as a soldier in action, and consequently, the recognition of his manhood.

Professor Cornish has told his story well and in a quite readable style. He utilizes to a considerable extent the writings of white officers who served with Negro regiments. His critical essay on bibliographical sources is well presented. He fails, however, to cite the writings of white enlisted

men, common soldiers, and foreigners who served with the Union Army to show how antipathetic these really were toward the use of Negro troops. He quotes liberally from Bell Wiley's *The Life of Johnny Reb*, but fails to use the same author's *The Life of Billy Yank*. He furthermore makes little mention of the writings of Negroes themselves about the events in which they participated. Nevertheless, the book fills a long felt need for a good scholarly work on the subject. It also provides an adequate account of the beginnings of the use of Negroes as troops, their segregation into separate units and gradual integration into the U.S. Army, although this still has not yet been fully accomplished.

*Riverdale, Maryland*

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*A Baker's Dozen. Thirteen Unusual Americans.* By Russel B. Nye. (Michigan State University Press: East Lansing, 1956. Pp. 300. \$4.50.)

Author Nye has undertaken a series of short biographies of thirteen unusual Americans, men who for the most part were quite famous at one time but have become practically lost in the eyes of history. As he states in his preface, neither debunking nor glorifying of these characters is necessary, for the judgment of history has proved fairly accurate. Some are treated sympathetically and some otherwise but without exception each has a fascinating story.

There is John Ledyard, the world traveller who might have been a latter day Marco Polo, and Harman Blennerhassett, the tragic dupe of Aaron Burr. The names of these two, and those of "Copperhead" Clement L. Vallandigham and Abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy, are well known to most amateur historians, but much of the fascination of their stories has been forgotten.

Others such as John A. Murrell, the master villain of the South, and James Strang, the Mormon king of his own utopian community in northern Michigan, are not so familiar, but their stories are even more interesting. The tales of John Fries, Edward Bonney, Simon Girty, John Humphrey Noyes, Jacob Coxey, Nat Turner and Phineas Quimby complete the "baker's dozen."

The author has made a real contribution in pursuing the lives of these men and in addition has produced an extremely enjoyable book. His source material on several, notably Murrell and Bonney, is necessarily limited, but even if these stories were pure fiction they would be well worth the reader's time.

*Springfield*

ROBERT E. MILLER, JR.

*The Appraisal of Modern Public Records.* By T. R. Schellenberg. (*Bulletins of the National Archives*, No. 8: Washington, D. C., October, 1956. Pp. 46.)

Dr. Schellenberg, Director of Archival Management in the National Archives and Records Service, comes squarely to grips with the principal problem facing the archivist and records manager dealing with modern government records in the most recent *Bulletin of the National Archives*.

Although there may be some debate about the date at which public records become "modern," the problems that their bulk and duplication present to the person charged with deciding which of them shall be retained cannot be questioned.

Dr. Schellenberg points out that public records have two principal values. The first is evidential, that is, the evidence of the organization and functioning of the body that created them; the second is informational, that is, information relating to persons, places, or things with which the body that created them dealt. He establishes general principles for determining evidential value and points out that records on origins and on substantive functions should be retained.

In relation to the informational value in records, the determination of which frequently presents the knottiest problem to the appraiser, Dr. Schellenberg points out that the concern of the archivist is with the data in the records and not with who created them or why. He then suggests the tests of uniqueness, form (both of the information and of the record itself), and importance to be applied to public records in evaluating their informational content. He also relates how the tests for informational value have been applied to specific groups of records in the National Archives.

The reader of this *Bulletin* must constantly keep in mind that Dr. Schellenberg is admittedly discussing the appraisal of modern records of the Federal Government, which has a problem of bulk that is not faced by any other public body in the United States. A single series of Federal records may, for example, be very nearly as large as all the records in a state, city, or county. This factor, alone, may cause the state, local, or business archivist to proceed with caution in applying some of the tests to determine informational value.

In selecting records for their evidential value, Dr. Schellenberg points out that the archivist often finds that such records have never been created at all or are, at best, imperfect. The problem of inadequate documentation is the most serious one facing the archivist who appraises modern public records, and it is in this area that the gap between the archivist and the records administrator *must* be bridged. This is not the place to argue about who is

at fault for inadequate and improper documentation nor about the delineation of responsibility between archivist and records manager. The gap can be narrowed to the mutual advantage of both, and its complete elimination must be a common objective of the two professions that are concerned with public records.

*Narengo Services, Inc.*

THORNTON W. MITCHELL

*Evanston's Yesterdays. Stories of Early Evanston and Sketches of Some of Its Pioneers.* By Clyde D. Foster. (Evanston, Ill., n. p., 1956. Pp. 233. \$5.00.)

All Evanstonians and especially all former Evanstonians should find delight in this book. It is a collection of stories, some merely vignettes, of people and events in this beautiful suburb of Chicago. While many of *Evanston's Yesterdays* are, indeed, of early Evanston most of them will have a nostalgic flavor to any who have ever called Evanston home within the past fifty years.

To this reviewer, who called Evanston home from the end of World War I to the beginning of World War II, the names of the people and events, streets, houses, addresses, buildings and churches set off a chain reaction of memories that make the little volume a book to be enjoyed for what it brings to mind as much as for what appears upon the printed page.

The author's love for his city, which has been his home for more than fifty years, is evident on every page. With his own stories Foster has included the reminiscences of many Evanston pioneers—contemporaries of what is now history. These stories by "old-timers," who are no more, add much to the book's value.

Proceeds from the sale of this volume, of which but 1,500 copies have been printed, will be turned over to the Evanston Historical Society's treasury and used to help maintain the Society's museum. The book is attractive in format, printed on fine paper and well illustrated. Unfortunately, however, it does not have an index.

S. A. W.



## NEWS AND COMMENT

### SPRING TOUR OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 3-4

Historic sites reminiscent of the turbulent history of the west central Illinois of more than a century ago (including that of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo where the capstone on the front cover of this *Journal* was used) will be visited by members of the Illinois State Historical Society on their annual Spring Tour Friday and Saturday, May 3 and 4.

Headquarters for the meeting will be at Sherman Hall of Western Illinois State College, Macomb, where the group will be welcomed Friday morning by Dr. Frank A. Beu, president of the College. The visitors will be the guests of the McDonough County Historical Society and the College, with Dr. Marcy G. Bodine, head of the Department of Social Science, serving as chairman of the local arrangements committee. Following the welcoming his tentative program calls for a tour of the campus Friday morning in small groups guided by members of the history faculty. Lunch will be served at the Lamoine Hotel and in the afternoon State Historian Clyde C. Walton will report on the work of the State Society with young people and demonstration classes will be held in the teaching of American history at the elementary and high school levels. The dinner Friday evening will be on the Western Illinois campus and the speaker will be Dr. Kimball Young, chairman of the Department of Sociology at Northwestern University, Evanston. He will talk on "The Mormons in Illinois."

The group will assemble at 8:30 A.M. Saturday for a briefing of the tour which will begin at 9. The route will include the jail at Carthage where Joseph and Hyrum Smith were killed (on June 27, 1844) and the many historic buildings and sites in Nauvoo. Midway of the tour, luncheon will be served at the Nauvoo Hotel and there will be a coffee hour after the buses return to Macomb.

## NAUVOO SUN STONE A CENTURY LATER

The "Rising Sun" capstone pictured on the front cover of this *Journal* was originally a part of the Temple erected by the Mormons on the hill above the Mississippi River and the town of Nauvoo, Illinois. This solid, light-gray limestone building was 128 feet long by 88 feet wide, and 65 feet high with a four-terrace tower at the front rising another 100 feet. The "Sun Stones" formed the capitals of thirty pilasters that ornamented and reinforced the exterior walls—nine on each side and six at each end. Above each pilaster, around the cornice, was a "Star Stone" and at the base of each was a "Moon Stone." The "Sun Stones" were by far the largest of the three, being six feet wide at the top, four feet, six inches at the base and also in height, and eighteen inches thick. Each weighed 3,000 pounds or more and is said to have cost \$3,000.

The Temple itself had a very brief existence. The cornerstone was laid on April 6, 1841 and the building was dedicated on April 30, 1846. Even before it was finished the structure suffered several near-disasters. On



THE NAUVOO TEMPLE

February 9, 1846 an overheated stove set fire to the roof and a hole twelve feet square was burned before a bucket brigade brought it under control. Two weeks later, on February 22, the floor settled and threatened to give way, causing a panic among the large crowd of worshipers. The following September the steeple was struck by lightning, with only slight damage. But, on October 9, 1848, an anti-Mormon arsonist set off a blaze that left only the stone walls standing—and they had been weakened by the heat. In the spring of 1849 the Icarian colonists, who had moved to Nauvoo, purchased the ruins with the

thought of rebuilding. But while masons were at work, on May 25, 1850, a wind storm leveled the north wall and left the others tottering so dangerously that it was necessary to pull them down.

Of the original thirty "Sun Stones" three are known to be still in existence. One is at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., the second is on the grounds of the Quincy Historical Society, and the third is at Nauvoo State Park. This latter stone was taken to its present location in 1955 from the Illinois State Fairgrounds where it had been since 1894 when the State Fair was permanently established at Springfield. It had been taken to the capital in 1870 when samples of native stone were being sought for the present Statehouse. It remained on the lawn of the Sangamon County Courthouse (then the Statehouse) for the next six years and then was moved to the Statehouse lawn, whence it went to the Fairgrounds where for years it stood in the middle of a lily pond.

The picture of the Nauvoo Temple on the preceding page is thought to be from a daguerreotype made in 1846—probably at the time of the dedication. There are numerous drawings of the Temple in existence but they usually differ from the daguerreotypes in details and some even are hardly recognizable as the same building.

#### ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Officers of the Alton Area Historical Society for 1957 are: John F. Stobbs, president; Maitland Timmermier, vice-president; Myrtle E. Stobbs, secretary; Lester K. Meyer, treasurer; Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, program chairman.

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The Aurora Historical Society met on January 17 and re-elected J. J. Lies and Robert W. Barclay as vice-presidents, Bess M. Lockhart as secretary and Ray N. Stolp as treasurer. Mrs. Alice H. Applegate was re-appointed curator of the Society's museum. The term of President L. Roy Mead has one more year to run.

Mrs. Harold Atwood, Vernon S. Derry, Mrs. W. J. Downs, Mrs. J. W. Eckert, Mrs. A. F. Muschler, Mrs. Harold Newton, Mrs. K. T. Ochsenschlager, Paul Ochsenschlager, Eleanor Plain, Newell Tanner, Mrs. Blanche Watson and J. J. Winn were elected to the board of directors to serve with holdovers Robert Conkling, Mrs. R. L. Erlanson, Mrs. Helen M. Meiers, James Simon, George H. Simpson, Norris Ulness and honorary director Clarence R. Smith.

---

The Chicago Historical Society observed the ninety-fourth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation with a program on December 30. The Society's collections include the pen with which Lincoln signed the Proclamation and the table on which he did so. The original Proclamation was the Society's property until it was destroyed in the fire of 1871.

Mrs. Edward J. Chladek, first president of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago), spoke on the Society's history at its meeting in the Woodlawn Regional Library on February 8. Oren Wright presented a program of patriotic music, and the group was led in the pledge of allegiance to the flag by Mrs. Thomas Orsanai. Mrs. Elizabeth Gray is president of the Society.

---

The Edwards County Historical Society had open house in its museum and library located in the birthplace of Governor Louis L. Emmerson at Albion on December 2. The interior has been redecorated.

The Society's officers for 1957 are: Edgar L. Dukes, president; Mrs. Virginia Strawn Skinner, vice-president; Mrs. Edna Bowers Oakley, secretary; Mrs. Laura Blood Killough, treasurer; Gilbert Jones, Roy Curtis and James Hardy, trustees.

The Society's program on February 7, according to President Dukes, "naturally featured the Lincoln family and its little-known and intimate characteristics including items and cost of their family budget, indicating Mrs. Lincoln's expensive tastes."

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The Elmhurst Historical Commission opened its museum to the public in January. The exhibits occupy two rooms in the Municipal Building and portray the growth of Elmhurst from its founding to the present.

The York Historical Society of York Community High School, Elmhurst, chose Benjamin Franklin as the subject of its annual patriotic assembly on February 20. Penny Gullion, president of the Society, was moderator, and Bill Gorbunoff took the part of Franklin. John Varland, club sponsor, directed the dramatic presentation.

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The Historical Society of the Fort Hill Country (Lake County), organized last October, met on January 14 in St. Matthew's Church near Fairfield, and on February 18 at the Ivanhoe Church. Richard F. Johnson of Mundelein is president of the group.

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John Gustafson spoke on Batavia and Justice Samuel D. Lockwood before the Geneva Historical Society on December 2. A new Illinois Bell Telephone Company film, "Broad Land, Narrow Water," was shown.

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The Jefferson County Historical Society heard Mrs. Earl Hanes outline "The History of Horse Creek" at its meeting on January 22. Lowell A.

Dearinger was elected president; Charles E. Simmons, vice-president; Elizabeth Kell, secretary-treasurer; and Dr. R. H. Guthrie, chaplain.

---

Knox County Historic Sites, Inc., held its annual meeting at the Knoxville High School cafeteria on January 31. A film on the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg was shown. The group has made considerable progress toward restoration of the east room on the first floor of the old Knoxville courthouse. Mrs. Irving Garcelon is president, Gene Hebard secretary and Mrs. Hebard treasurer.

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State Historian Clyde C. Walton addressed the La Salle County Historical Society's February 10 meeting at Tonica, especially emphasizing the new *Illinois History* magazine. Keith Clark of Ottawa presented two ballads on La Salle County history.

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A collection of the personal effects of General John McNulta (1837-1900) of Bloomington has been given to the McLean County Historical Society. The Northern Illinois Gas Company, celebrating its centennial in January, has given the Society a section of wooden gas main which was in use from 1857 to 1940.

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The Macon County Lincoln Memorial Association has bought forty logs from an old barn near Ramsey, built shortly before the Civil War, for use in the restoration of the old Macon County courthouse which was in use when the Lincolns came through Decatur in 1830 and now stands in Fairview Park. The logs will be treated with pentachlorophenol, a colorless preservative, before being used.

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Miss Jessie Springer, acting curator of the Madison County Historical Society's museum in the Edwardsville courthouse since the resignation of Caroline Wolf on December 19, was appointed permanent curator by President Donald F. Lewis on February 2. The museum will now be open Wednesdays and Fridays from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. and on Saturdays from 9 A.M. to 12 noon, with a group of Girl Scouts acting as museum aids on Saturday mornings. Twelve of Miss Springer's ancestors lived in Madison County before Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1818.

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The Marshall County Historical Society held its first anniversary meeting in the Lacon Methodist Church on January 22. Roscoe Ball, Myrtle Strawn,

Lois Leigh, Harold R. Dawson, William Babington and Frank Clift were re-elected directors, and Fay Ball and Charles Lundgren elected as new members of the board. The directors, including sixteen whose terms have not expired, will elect the Society's officers.

Miss Strawn presented the Society a plaque of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and told of several incidents in which Lincoln and her grandfather, John Strawn, had figured. Mrs. T. Val Wenk whistled two numbers, accompanied on the piano by Mrs. Rena Greene. Secretary Eleanor Bussell and Treasurer Roscoe Ball gave reports. President Wayne Buck presided.

Speaker of the evening was Archaeologist Stuart Streuver, who gave an illustrated lecture on the excavations of a Hopewellian Indian village on the Kuhne farm west of McNabb, occupied about 850-750 B.C. Streuver then outlined an investigation in which he is collaborating with Fr. Francis Borgia Steck of Quincy College and others, leading to the conclusion that Fr. Claude Jean Allouez is entitled to the credit for much of the literary and missionary work generally credited to Fr. Jacques Marquette.

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The Mattoon Historical Society met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Kizer on December 5. Mrs. Zeniar Edwards, Mrs. J. H. Glover and Ray Redding were elected directors for three years. Dr. Glenn Seymour of Eastern Illinois State College was elected a director to complete the unexpired term of the late J. W. Sawyer. Alex Summers reported on the Chicago meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in October; Rebecca Barrow played two piano solos; and Mrs. Harry G. Siebert reviewed Elihu B. Washburne's biography of Governor Edward Coles.

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Judge Walter Wright addressed the Morgan County Historical Society on January 18. His subject was "The Greatness of Stephen A. Douglas." Mayor Ernest Hoagland of Jacksonville, Dr. Alfred J. Henderson and Fidelia N. Abbott were re-elected directors, and Ruth Bailey was elected to fill out the unexpired term of Dr. John S. Wright, who left the Illinois College faculty for the University of Nevada.

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New officers of the Ogle County Historical Society, elected November 28 at a meeting in Byron, are: Mrs. H. B. Walker, president; Everett Webster, vice-president; Mrs. Frank Bolwahn, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Hal J. Campbell, Kenneth Cleaver, J. Merle Haselton, H. N. Johnston, Gordon Kennedy and Wilbur Light, directors. The terms of the other officers and directors have not expired. The Society's membership for 1956

was reported as 516. Dr. and Mrs. Robert Dearborn of Byron showed pictures taken on their recent trip through the West Indies and Dutch Guiana.

The Polo chapter met on February 7 with President Everett Webster presiding. The group will be in charge of the pageant during the Polo centennial celebration.

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The Perry County Historical Society met at the Tamaroa grade school on February 4 to plan activities for 1957. Newly-elected President Raymond Lee and Secretary Everett McMurray assumed their duties. The Society plans to publish an annual report.

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Officers of the Piatt County Historical Society, elected December 10, are: Herbert H. Kaiser, president; Henry Timmons Dighton, vice-president; Calvin W. Adams, executive secretary; Mrs. T. J. Foster, secretary-treasurer; Noble P. Heath, Mrs. Evelyn S. Johnson, Mrs. Charles Musgrove, Carl Thompson and Frank Wrench, directors. The Society's 1957 project is the microfilming of historically valuable documents owned by citizens of Piatt County.

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At the meeting of the Randolph County Historical Society held at Prairie du Rocher on December 14, members heard a talk on, and saw a demonstration of, the old French New Year's Eve festivities known as "La Guignolée," still celebrated annually at the old village. The Society held a business meeting in Sparta on January 18.

Miss Pat Bahn's speech class from Sparta Township High School is co-operating with the Society's efforts to restore the Pierre Menard home. The students will speak anywhere in the county on request, as a practical application of their classroom work. The Society is also sponsoring essay contests on Menard's life—one for grades 7 and 8 and one for grades 9 through 11. First prizes of \$10 and second prizes of \$5 will be awarded in each group. Stationery bearing drawings of historical scenes of the county by Roscoe Misselhorn of Sparta is on sale, and members and friends are urged to purchase and use it for the double purpose of raising funds and publicizing the county.

---

The Rockton Township (Winnebago County) Historical Society is now conducting its membership drive for 1957. Last year's total was 151. Life memberships have been presented to a number of descendants of Stephen Mack and Hononegah who have sent family heirlooms and documents for exhibit in the old Stephen Mack house.

Between June 24, 1956, when the old house was reopened as a museum and the time it was closed for the winter, more than eleven hundred persons had signed its register. Armour Titus, Granville Coburn and Clarence Wishop are in charge of the further restoration planned for this year. Don Frutiger is the new president of the Society.

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The Saline County Historical Society's Christmas meeting on December 4 featured four women of the county describing Christmas observances in their native lands. Mrs. J. J. Klein of Harrisburg described Christmas in Germany; Mrs. John Stewart of Harrisburg, in Scotland; Mrs. John Hill of Galatia, in Monaco; and Charlotte Verkamman of Eldorado, in the Netherlands. Miss Verkamman, who arrived in the United States last April, appeared in Dutch costume and sang a Dutch carol, accompanied by Madge Roberson of Eldorado.

The showing of slides of scenic points in "Egypt" featured the Society's meeting on January 8. The slides, made by the late Dr. W. S. Swan, are now the property of his nephew James Scott and were shown by John Foster. Several members of the Society contributed information about the events and scenes shown. William Farley described recent developments in the Shawnee Hills Recreation Association, and Mrs. Joseph Wisheart of Shawneetown spoke of plans to make that city a stopover for tourists on the Ohio River.

Dr. Joe Bryant of Ridgway addressed the Society on February 5 on "Birds and Snakes of Southern Illinois."

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Joseph C. Burtschi, founder of the Vandalia Historical Society, was elected president emeritus for life on December 18. Josephine Burtschi was elected president; George L. Whiteman, vice-president; Mrs. Ben W. Perkins, secretary; and Stanley Stewart, treasurer. Mrs. Charles R. Schulte was elected to the board of directors to succeed Mr. Whiteman. Attorney Louis A. McLaughlin spoke on "Legislation in Vandalia" (1819-1839).

The Society held its first Lincoln Day dinner at the Hotel Evans on February 12. Attorney Joe Dees spoke on "The Life of Lincoln." Members of the Vandalia Community High School Band played patriotic selections under the baton of Lloyd Higgerson. A memorial was given for the late Frances Meyers.

---

The Wayne County Historical Society heard Representative S. O. Dale speak on "Old Highways" at the Mount Erie grade school on November 30.

Frank Vaughan gave a historical sketch of the Fairfield Masonic lodge, and Charles McCoy told of local Odd Fellow history, at the Society's meeting in the Fairfield Public Library on January 25.

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Ralph Harris, Marion attorney, discussed the "Creal Springs Conservatory of Music" at the Williamson County Historical Society's quarterly meeting in the Marion Carnegie Library on January 6.

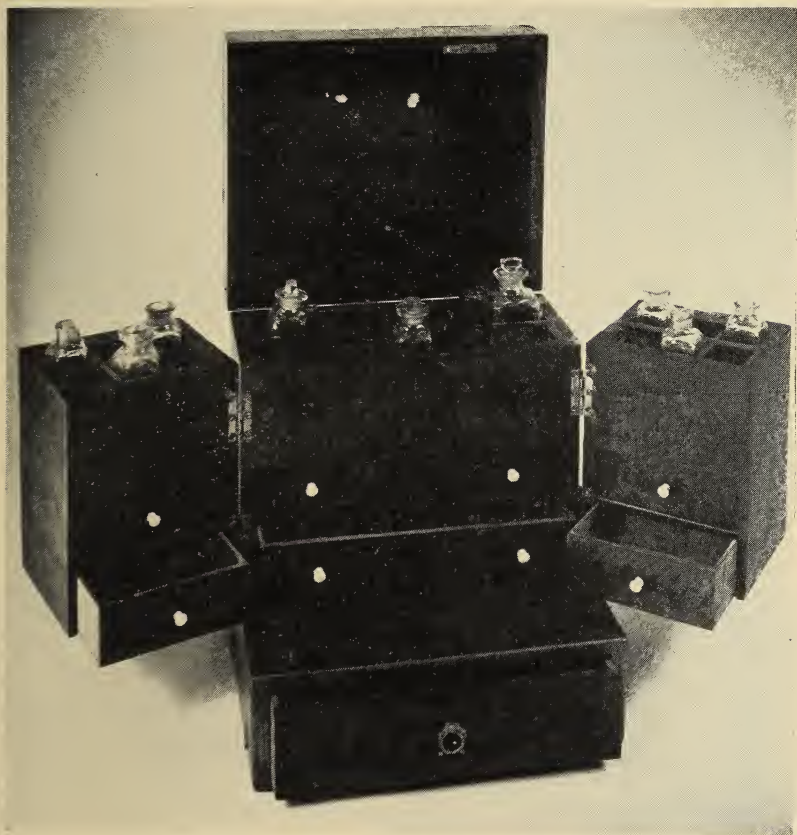
Officers of the Society are: Snyder Herrin, president; Hobert Motsinger, Ruth Grant and Mrs. Logan Colp, vice-presidents; Pearl Roberts, secretary; Mrs. William Burkhart, treasurer; Mrs. Charles Otey, reporter; Mrs. Roscoe Parks, archivist; Mrs. Paul Colp, parliamentarian.

### NINETEENTH CENTURY MEDICINE CHEST

The medicine chest of Elias Kent Kane, Illinois' first Secretary of State and its fourth United States Senator, was presented recently to the Illinois State Historical Library by his great grandson Elias K. Kane, Jr., of Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

The chest is an excellent and intricate example of the nineteenth-century cabinetmaker's art. When closed it is  $11\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide, 10 inches deep, and  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches high. There is a drawer  $10\frac{3}{4}$  by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches at the bottom, and when the top is lifted the two front quarters of the chest above this drawer swing back on brass hinges to form a cabinet  $23\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide and expose six small drawers with ivory pulls. The two drawers at each end are 5 by 4 inches and those in the middle  $10\frac{3}{4}$  by 4 inches. Above these drawers are compartments for bottles, six small ones at each end and ten larger ones in the middle. Although they appear to be the same size each of these compartments is tailored to fit a certain bottle and the bottles are not interchangeable. Two of the 4 by 5 inch drawers are divided by partitions into quarters, and the three largest drawers are velvet lined. A variety of woods was used in the chest and all exposed surfaces are covered with a mahogany veneer while the drawers are made of cedar. On the outside of the top is a small silver plate bearing the name, "Elias Kane, Kaskaskias, Illinois."

Kane was born in New York in 1794 and was graduated from Yale University in 1812. After reading law in New York for a while he decided to practice in the west. He went to Tennessee in 1813 or early 1814 but arrived in Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory, before the end of the latter year. Early in 1818 he was appointed a judge of the eastern circuit of the Illinois Territorial Court and August of that year found him representing Randolph



*Photo by Ward Johnson, Illinois State Photographer*

## ELIAS KENT KANE'S MEDICINE CHEST

County in the convention that was to draw up the first constitution for the new state. He was one of the more influential members of that convention and was the author of much of the document that it finally approved—at the same time these sections are said to have been copied from the constitutions of Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana.

Shadrach Bond, Illinois' first governor, appointed the Kaskaskia judge as the first Secretary of State to supplement his own lack of a formal education. When Bond was succeeded by Governor Edward Coles, Kane returned to his Kaskaskia law practice. In 1824 he was elected to represent Randolph County in the State Senate and later that year the General Assembly sent him to the United States Senate. When he began his service on March

4, 1825 he was less than thirty-one years old. He was re-elected in 1830 but did not live to complete his second term.

Senator Kane had been in poor health—hence the over-size medicine case—and died in Washington on December 12, 1835, after a winter trip from Kaskaskia, down the Mississippi to Cairo and up the Ohio to Wheeling by steamboat and across to Washington by stagecoach—presumably taking the chest with him.

#### BURFORD BUSY AS SPEAKER

During February, C. C. Burford of Urbana gave eight talks on Abraham Lincoln as a traveling attorney on the Eighth Judicial Circuit. Six were before groups in Champaign and Urbana, and the other two were before the Danville and Farmer City Kiwanis Clubs. On October 26 he spoke before the Stephenson County Historical Society at Freeport on "The Historic American Indian in Illinois." Also, he addressed the Piatt County Historical Society on March 4, on "Early Piatt County History."

#### REGIONAL MEETING HELD AT PRINCETON

During the two days of spring weather on March 23-24 that preceded Illinois' March blizzard approximately a hundred members of the Illinois State Historical Society enjoyed the organization's first Regional Meeting at Princeton. With the exception of Secretary-Treasurer Clyde C. Walton all of the visitors were well on their way home before the rain and then snow began. State Historian Walton, who planned to stay over night to clear up the business of the meeting, was unable to leave for two days.

The Bureau County Historical Society was host to the State group and its arrangements committee, with Mrs. Doris Parr Leonard as chairman, secured the co-operation of the entire community to make the visitors feel at home. The fronts of business houses bore "Welcome" signs and some of the store windows were especially decorated with merchandise, utensils and implements from Princeton's historic past.

The Clark Hotel provided a lobby room where registration began at 1 P.M. Saturday. The meeting that afternoon was held in the Blue Flame Room of the Princeton Gas Service Company. Mayor Roy P. Rheeling welcomed the guests and assured them that possible parking violations would be overlooked. Mrs. Allie Whitney, vice-president of the Bureau County Historical Society, extended the greetings of her organization in the absence of the president, Frank Grisell, due to illness.

Phyllis E. Underwood, director of the Illinois Junior Historian pro-



### SPEAKERS' TABLE AT REGIONAL MEETING

At the dinner Saturday evening, were, left to right: Mrs. Ralph E. Francis; Rev. Karl Nelson, president of the Princeton Ministerial Association; Herma Clark; Ralph E. Francis, president of the State Historical Society; Mrs. Doris Parr Leonard, chairman of the local arrangements committee; State Historian Clyde C. Walton; and Mrs. William Henry, Jr., of Cambridge, a director of the State Society.



### GUESTS' TABLES AT REGIONAL MEETING

This general view shows nearly all of the one hundred guests who attended the dinner on Saturday, March 23 in the new Fellowship Hall of the Hampshire Colony Congregational Church, Princeton.



### AT BUREAU COUNTY HISTORICAL MUSEUM

Members of the State Historical Society visited the Bureau County Historical Society Museum following their bus tour of Sunday, March 24. Shown, left to right, are Mr. and Mrs. Ira Pyle of Fairview, Mrs. Doris Parr Leonard, President Ralph E. Francis, and J. W. Naffziger of Princeton.

Historical Society. Here, after examining the three floors and basement filled with mementos of the community's historic past, the visitors were served coffee and doughnuts by members of the Bureau County Society.

The Historical Society's Regional Meeting at Princeton was supplementary to the annual Spring Tour and the Fall meeting, which will be held as previously scheduled. Although some members attended from as far away as Carbondale the Regional Meeting met with the approval particularly of those living in the area around Princeton. Typical of several letters received by Secretary-Treasurer Walton, was this one from George W. Watkins, 630 Catharine Street, Ottawa:

Having been a member for ten years it was my privilege for the first time to attend a meeting and go on a tour with the Society at Princeton recently. Other meetings have all been too far away or I was not able to be present.

This was a memorable occasion to me and exceeded my expectations—and now, being on the retired list, I hope to avail myself of future opportunities. The favors and courtesies shown were highly appreciated.

I understand that the Spring Tour, 1958, is to be in the Ottawa area. This will certainly please me highly, as much Lincoln legend abounds here. The first Lincoln-Douglas Debate was held here, August 21, 1858. My grandmother was on the committee to help decorate the speakers' stand. I have a large painting (four by six feet) of the Debate, painted about fifteen years ago, after extensive research work. Two plaques on either side explain the details.

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Journal  
of the

# ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Illinois Normal University Centennial Issue



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FIFTY YEARS OLD—FIFTY YEARS AGO

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

SUMMER 1957

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(For further information see inside of back cover)

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ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER ON JULY 5, 1918, AT THE POST OFFICE  
AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, UNDER THE ACT OF OCTOBER 5, 1917

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*Journal*  
*of the*  
**ILLINOIS STATE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



VOLUME L

NUMBER 2

SUMMER 1957

Published four times a year, Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter

WILLIAM G. STRATTON, Governor  
STATE OF ILLINOIS

(Printed by authority of the State of Illinois)

(57782—6-57)



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EDUCATION IN ILLINOIS  
BEFORE 1857

BY ROBERT GEHLMANN BONE

When an active, alert people are united with a system of education, even though it be nothing more than a "little red school," the miracles of the modern world come to pass—the miracles of scholarship, leisure, culture and technology. These miracles then become the base for the duties and the privileges of tomorrow. One of the best things about our education is our faith in it. We believe in it . . . . We like it, and we want more of it, not so much because of what we have learned, but because it gives our children a chance to improve on ourselves.<sup>1</sup>

FROM the very founding of our Republic, our growth as a democratic nation has been dependent to a degree upon an intelligent, educated electorate. A number of the Founding Fathers, such as Jefferson, Franklin, Washington, and Benjamin Rush, felt strongly that a people faced with the task of self-government must be an educated people. Washington referred to this need in his first message to Congress,<sup>2</sup> and in a speech given in 1789 he said, "As in civilized Societies the welfare of the State and happiness of the People are advanced or retarded in proportion as the morals and good education of the youth are attended to."<sup>3</sup> With our ever increasing power among the nations of the world, with our

<sup>1</sup> Coleman R. Griffith, "The Meaning of Public Education," *Ferment in Education* (Urbana, 1948), 167.

<sup>2</sup> John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, Vol. 30 (New York, 1939), 307.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 349n.

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progress in science and in many other areas, it is more vital than ever that we properly educate our leaders and our citizens. Today Americans, as a whole, take for granted that our children will be given a free education through high school and will have an opportunity to enter college. Yet, if we study the history of education in our country, we discover that there has been a long, slow development for free public schools and that there were many problems and struggles in this development.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, however, the vast majority of Americans felt that education was for the few who could afford it. While it is true that the New England states had laws establishing free schools—Massachusetts had adopted such a law in 1674—not all communities availed themselves of the opportunity. Nonetheless, a good many people moving west in the early decades of the nineteenth century dreamed and hoped for the future and wanted their children to have equal rights. In many frontier settlements in Illinois, parents got together and hired a teacher or sent their children, at least the sons, to subscription schools. These schools increased in numbers and, just prior to the Free School Bill of 1855, there were 4,215 schools<sup>4</sup> officially reported in Illinois. Most of these were private, parochial, or subscription schools. Very few were public schools; a few towns such as Joliet, Jacksonville, Alton, Griggsville, Galena, Galatia, and Springfield supported some education by public revenues. Some of these 4,215 schools did not have their own buildings, but were held in homes, meeting houses, churches, or even abandoned buildings. Nearly half of the school buildings were of log cabin construction. The report showed no graded schools nor high schools. More than two-thirds of the teachers were men who received an average monthly salary of \$25; women teachers received an average salary of \$12.

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<sup>4</sup> *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . of the State of Illinois, 1855* [Dec. 10, 1854], (Springfield, 1854), 5.

Largely because of the Free School Bill of 1855, schools increased by nearly eighty per cent in the following three years. The official *Report on the Schools for 1857* showed 7,694 free public schools. Of these, 181 were graded and these included a few high schools, some of which were in Jacksonville;<sup>5</sup> Peoria, which opened a free public high school in July, 1856; Chicago, in October, 1856; Springfield, in September, 1857; and Bloomington, in October, 1857. In the latter year Illinois boasted fourteen colleges and a state-supported normal university, which opened its classes in Bloomington on October 5, 1857. Behind these names, dates, and places is the interesting and somewhat dramatic story of the long struggle to establish free education and a normal school in Illinois. The following paragraphs cannot do justice to the many people who gave of their time, their energy, and thought for the development of a fine educational system in Illinois. Space permits description of only a few of the events and recognition of only some of the people. The parents hired the first teachers for only a few dollars a month, plus board and room which were obtained by staying with the families that had children in school. The education of the teacher was often but little more than that of some of the children he taught.

As early as 1783, a man named Seely or Seeley<sup>6</sup> is said to have taught school in New Design, Illinois. The first written evidence of a school building in Illinois is found in an old document of Cahokia,<sup>7</sup> where in 1794 two Frenchmen requested permission of the judges of the court to hold classes in the "audience room of the courthouse until they construct a building which will oblige all the inhabitants whose chil-

<sup>5</sup> A free public high school was established in Jacksonville in 1851 by Newton Bateman. See John W. Cook, *Educational History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1912), 505, which states that this was the first high school supported by public funds in Illinois.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Willard, "Brief History of Early Education in Illinois," *Fifteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois*, (Springfield, 1884), xcix, states that in 1783 John Seeley opened a school in Monroe County. George W. Smith, *A Student's History of Illinois* (Bloomington, 1906), 163, says that Samuel J. Seely taught school in New Design in 1783.

<sup>7</sup> MS (in French) dated May 6, 1794 at Cahokia, Chicago Historical Society.

dren have their instruction in the school. . . ." The first teacher mentioned in Sangamon County history was a John Purviance (1796-1863), the younger son of a Revolutionary War soldier who migrated from North Carolina in 1820 and settled in what later became Cartwright Township. He had been taught by some of his mother's people, fairly well-educated descendants of Pocahontas and John Rolfe. Because he had some training, the growing community of pioneers hired John in 1821 to teach their children during the winter months. They paid him \$6 a month and he "boarded and bedded" at the homes of the families of his pupils until his marriage in 1823; at which time the parents joined forces and built him a log cabin home which he also used as a school room for a number of years.<sup>8</sup>

Another early Illinois teacher was Jacob Flowers Poe (1787-1877), son of a wealthy North Carolina family. Poe was educated abroad, and, after losing all of his property when a cousin skipped bond, he left Carolina in 1826 and settled in Gallatin County, Illinois. He brought with him a sizable library for a pioneer of that day. He stopped at Galatia (in that part of Gallatin County which later became Saline County) with his family and was hired as a school teacher. He taught many subjects, including English literature, Latin, and French, and continued teaching until he was eighty. In the beginning he was paid \$8.25 a month and was given farm produce as partial compensation during his early days of teaching. With the establishment of tax-supported public schools in 1834,<sup>9</sup> he received \$12 a month, but he felt that he was worse off than when the parents hired him, as the additional pay in produce stopped. Furthermore, his curriculum was

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<sup>8</sup> John C. Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Springfield, 1876), 586-88. *History of Sangamon County*, Inter-State Publishing Co. (Chicago, 1881), 816.

<sup>9</sup> *History of Gallatin, Saline, Hamilton, Franklin and Williamson Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1887), 142. Letters and documents formerly in the possession of the late Celia P. Blackwell and Olive Elizabeth Poe, both of Galatia, granddaughters of Jacob F. Poe.

restricted to the usual common school subjects. However, Jacob Poe was not a typical example of the early teachers, as very few of them had much education and this very fact gave great impetus to the struggle to establish a teacher training institution.

In some instances, as above, a group of parents hired a teacher; in a few, an educated man settled in a community and opened a school and charged tuition. Such schools were usually called subscription schools, seminaries, or academies. A number of these were established in the thirties. One rather famous academy which continued from 1834 to 1856 was situated in Bloomington, and was founded by the Rev. Lemuel Foster, a Presbyterian minister. In 1851, Daniel Wilkins (1820-1894)<sup>10</sup> and his wife took it over as the Central Illinois Female College. As Wilkins became well-known over the state in educational circles, it was often called Wilkins Academy. The passage of the Free School Act of 1855 closed its doors. Equally famous was the Female Seminary, a subscription high school for young ladies, directed by the Rev. John F. Brooks (1801-1887)<sup>11</sup> and his wife in Springfield during the forties and fifties. Both of these men had been well educated—Wilkins at Oberlin and the University of Michigan, and Brooks at Hamilton and Yale.

From one point of view it might be said that the educational system and philosophy in the Midwest began in 1785, when the Continental Congress first enacted legislation concerning the land north of the Ohio. Lot No. 16 of every township was reserved for the maintenance of public schools within the township.<sup>12</sup> Article III of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 began, "Religion, morality, and knowledge being

<sup>10</sup> Mary P. Hoover, "Daniel Wilkins," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society* (Bloomington, 1903), II: 429-32.

<sup>11</sup> *History of Sangamon County*, 597-99.

<sup>12</sup> "An Ordinance for Ascertaining the Mode of Disposing of Lands in the Western Territories," *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1933), Vol. XXVIII, 1785: p. 378. See also acts on public lands of July 23, 1787; June 20, 1788; and May 18, 1796. In the early ordinance the wording was "Lot No. 16," later Section No. 16 of each township was reserved for school use.

necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

The next legislative reference to education in Illinois came in 1818 when, on April 18, Nathaniel Pope (1774-1850), territorial delegate in Congress, witnessed the passage of the enabling act which he had introduced for the creation of the State of Illinois. The people of Illinois should be most grateful to Pope. He wrote into the bill paragraphs which not only gave the state the northern boundary of 42 degrees and 30 minutes rather than 41 degrees and 39 minutes, which had been first recommended, but also stipulated that three per cent of government sales of land should be used for education, as well as two per cent for roads. The bill further stipulated that monies from Section 16 in each township should be used for schools, and that funds from a whole township should be set aside for an educational seminary.<sup>13</sup> The Constitution of the State of Illinois, which was written soon after Pope had engineered the enabling act through Congress, made no mention of education.

Except for granting some charters to a few towns for academies, there was practically no legislation concerning education until the meeting of the fourth General Assembly in 1824-1825. Joseph Duncan (1794-1844) of Morgan County, later the fifth governor of Illinois, introduced "An Act Providing for the Establishment of Free Schools." This document placed Illinois as a leader in the field of education. None of all the New England states had such excellent school laws. The Act provided, among other things, that any township with fifteen families must supply a free school for at least three months of the year, and it provided further for officials and for taxation to carry on the school. The introduction and Section 1 of this document are worth quoting:

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<sup>13</sup> Theodore C. Pease, *The Story of Illinois* (Chicago, 1949), 75; Cook, *Educational History*, 74-77.

To enjoy our rights and liberties we must understand them; their security and protection ought to be the first object of a free people: and it is a well established fact that no nation has ever continued long in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, which was not both virtuous and enlightened; and believing that the advancement of literature has always been, and ever will be the means of developing the rights of man, that the mind of every citizen of a republic is the common property of society, and constitutes the basis of its strength and happiness; it is therefore considered the peculiar duty of a free government, like ours, to extend the improvement and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole; therefore,

Section 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois represented in the General Assembly, That there shall be established a common school or schools in each of the counties of this State, which shall be open and free to every class of white citizens, between the ages of five and twenty-one years: Provided, That persons over the age of twenty-one years may be admitted to such schools upon such conditions as the trustees of the schools may prescribe.<sup>14</sup>

Both houses passed and approved the act on January 15, 1825. Schools were just being established, however, when the sixth General Assembly, 1828-1829, retarded the progress of education in Illinois many decades by repealing Sections 15, 16, and 17 of the 1825 Act. These sections had provided the districts with taxing powers and it was many decades before like taxing powers were again enacted. There was still strong feeling that no one should have to pay taxes for the education of the children of other men. Furthermore, there were still many pioneers who were from the southeast and who felt that subscription schools were better.

However, in spite of lack of good free school laws, schools all over the state increased and children were exposed to the three R's. In the 1830's there was a growing demand for trained teachers. A few public-spirited persons in the New England states encouraged young people to go west to teach. William Slade, ex-Governor of Vermont, sent numerous young women and some young men to Illinois. Catherine Beecher of the famous Beecher family encouraged many young ladies

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

to go west and teach. As early as 1829 a rather famous group of young men from Yale<sup>15</sup> had migrated to Illinois to preach and teach.

The majority of the teachers, however, were very poorly educated. Theodore C. Pease in his *Story of Illinois* wrote: "The earliest schools were most casual affairs. They were kept by drunkards, by men with the barest smattering of knowledge, unfitted for other purposes by physical or moral defects."<sup>16</sup> Many examples referring to the character and training of teachers of the early decades can be found in reading early county histories and other documents.<sup>17</sup> There were, of course, a number of teachers with the training of Jacob Poe and John Purviance, of Daniel Wilkins and John Brooks. However, many of those who actually migrated for the purpose of teaching created certain difficulties. The women teachers often married and with the prospect of the first child, they left the classroom. Largely because of low salaries and the fact that classes were held for only three or four months a year, most of the men held other jobs, and many of them like the Vermonter, Stephen A. Douglas, left teaching entirely. At the same time, it must be remembered that the pioneer became proud of his area and his state and was easily led to find fault with the easterner who "was brought" west specifically to teach. The pride of the pioneer was hurt. Public speakers and newspapers protested against the "importing of teachers." The *Belleville Advocate* quoted Judge William H. Underwood as late as 1857 as saying: "We want teachers raised up from among our own people, teachers acquainted with our habits, customs, and modes of life. . . . Imported teachers will not answer this purpose."<sup>18</sup> Even Douglas spoke ardently against the imported teachers who were try-

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<sup>15</sup> Pease, *Story of Illinois*, 97.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>17</sup> Cook, *Educational History*, 59-70; see also Edward Eggleston, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* (New York, 1871).

<sup>18</sup> *Belleville Advocate*, Feb. 18, 1857.

ing to "Yankeeify" and "abolitionize" the people of Illinois.<sup>19</sup>

Long before Douglas and Underwood complained of the importation of teachers, education leaders were trying to establish a teacher training institution. These leaders agreed that prepared teachers were necessary to the future of the state and in 1833, an educational convention met in Vandalia just prior to the convening of the legislature. This group, known as the Illinois Institute of Education, met again in 1834 and in succeeding years under the leadership of the Rev. John Mason Peck<sup>20</sup> (1789-1858), one of the great men in early Illinois history. He not only founded Shurtleff College (begun as Rock Spring Academy in 1827), but was an active and ardent missionary, one of the most active and ardent supporters of education, a capable lobbyist, and an able publisher and editor. Largely as a result of the early meetings of the Institute in the state capitol just prior to the legislative session of 1834, the State Senator from Gallatin County, William J. Gatewood (d. 1842), a close friend of Jacob Poe and a strong supporter of education, introduced a bill in 1835 to provide for a uniform system of free schools and for a system of seminaries to train teachers. The bill did not pass; and although it was introduced again in the following session, it lost again.

Massachusetts was more successful at this time in its attempt to create a school to train teachers, for it authorized the first Normal School in the country, which opened in Lexington in 1839 (later located in Framingham). The establishment of this school and others<sup>21</sup> in the East during the succeeding decade spurred leaders in Illinois to agitate again for a normal school.

<sup>19</sup> *Chicago Times*, Feb. 6, 1857.

<sup>20</sup> Rufus Babcock, ed., *Forty Years of Pioneer Life, Memoir of John Mason Peck* (Philadelphia, 1864); Matthew Lawrence, *John Mason Peck, The Pioneer Missionary* (New York, 1940); and Cook, *Educational History*, 300-302.

<sup>21</sup> The first, second and third normal schools were in Massachusetts, the fourth in New York, fifth in Connecticut, sixth in Michigan, seventh in Massachusetts, eighth in Rhode Island, ninth in New Jersey, and the tenth was Illinois State Normal University. Charles A. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education* (Washington, 1939), 8.

In the forties and the fifties, the attitudes in general toward education in Illinois changed, and the long, slow struggle for free education and for the proper preparation of teachers was won. A few men had begun hoping and agitating in the twenties and thirties. Referring to the Midwest in these two decades, one historian wrote that, "In the hard toil of community building, not a little sentiment had sprung up against education in the frontier settlements."<sup>22</sup> There were a good many who felt that "book larning" might go to one's head and fail to prepare a person for reality. Many factors, however, contributed to a gradual change in the attitudes toward education. Jacksonian Democracy with the coming of manhood suffrage and the rise of the laboring groups gave men a new feeling about the value of education. Many leaders renewed the philosophy of such men as Jefferson, believing that a real democracy would succeed only if there were an educated electorate. The common man, and there were few who were not "common men" in the pioneer states, wanted his children to read, write, and figure simple numbers. He wanted his children to have a free, public education.

Once started, the rise of the free schools in the new west was more rapid than elsewhere in the country. In Illinois, for instance, there were fewer shibboleths of the wealthy aristocracy; there were fewer private, subscription, or parochial schools to play their vested interests against free public schools. Some of those existing did strive to keep free school legislation from passing. On the other hand, there were many unselfish, public-spirited men, like Daniel Wilkins and John F. Brooks, who strongly urged the passage of such legislation, knowing that it might well close their own private schools.

The new states in the west had fewer sectarian controls and fewer wealthy persons or interests opposing the use of public funds for universal free education. By 1850, education was not only recommended as beneficial to a growing

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<sup>22</sup> James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America* (Boston, 1931), 295.

democracy, but it "was also offered as a panacea for every other ill."<sup>28</sup> It was beneficial in that it educated a rising electorate; the rising labor group did not believe that only the aristocracy should receive education. The campaign slogans of 1840, "From log cabin to White House," only accentuated the fact that a frontier boy of a poor family could rise to the top in the new Republic and that "he should be ready." Some of those who previously had opposed free education were won over by speakers, and by writers of editorials, and articles. Some felt that the foreign-born should be given an American education; that "would-be radicals" might be educated to think "properly;" that young prospective "hoodlums" might be disciplined; and that the parochial schools might become too numerous and too influential. For many reasons, men's attitudes on education were changing.

There were still those who thought "too much education" was dangerous for young people. Quite a number of property owners and businessmen were incensed that any man's property should be taxed to educate another man's children and all too often it seemed that the poorest people, the near pauper class, the "lazy, good-for-nothing class," had the most children. Yet in spite of these objections, more and more men were won over to the philosophy that democracy for all necessitated education for all. The changing attitudes were the result to a large extent of organized groups, able leaders, and influential newspapers and periodicals. The Illinois Teachers Association had been organized in Jacksonville in 1836 and had been led by the able Jonathan B. Turner (1805-1899) and John F. Brooks. This group sponsored *The Common School Advocate*, which was published from 1837 to 1839. Two years later *The Illinois Common School Advocate* was published and was continued for a short period in the early forties. Two other periodicals which continued much

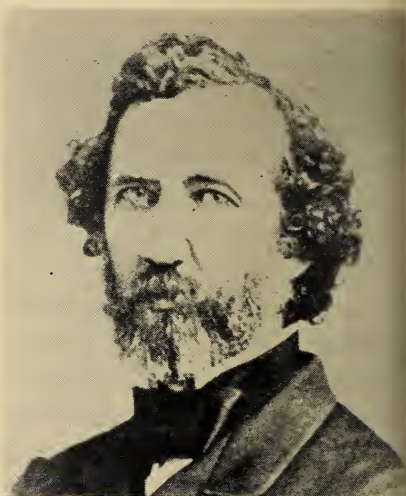
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<sup>28</sup> Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1930), I: 812.



JOSEPH DUNCAN

He was the author, in 1825, of Illinois' first free public school legislation.



JOHN S. WRIGHT

The editor of *Prairie Farmer* was a tireless worker in the field of education.

longer and strongly supported education were *The Pioneer and Western Baptist*, edited by that early missionary and educator, the Rev. John Mason Peck; and *The Prairie Farmer*, edited by John S. Wright (1815-1874).<sup>24</sup> According to one historian of education, *The Prairie Farmer*, while edited by Wright, was the largest single force in bringing about legislation for the free school and for a teacher training institution in Illinois.<sup>25</sup> A tireless worker in the field of education, John Wright became secretary of the Union Agricultural Society in 1839 and editor of the very influential periodical *The Union Agriculturist* (renamed *The Prairie Farmer* in 1843). He had been a wealthy Chicago merchant and had given the money for the construction of the first school building in that city. He had lost everything in the Panic of 1837 and had taken the secretarial position with the new organization. For

<sup>24</sup> Lloyd Lewis, *John S. Wright: Prophet of the Prairies* (Chicago, 1941); Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises* (Normal, 1956), 9-10.

<sup>25</sup> Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States* (Bloomington, 1935), 5.

many years, he published numerous strong articles in favor of education and of a normal school. Wright pleaded for the latter because "at least four-fifths of the teachers in the common schools of Illinois would not pass an examination in the rudiments of our English education, and most of them have taken to teaching because they hadn't anything in particular to do."<sup>26</sup>

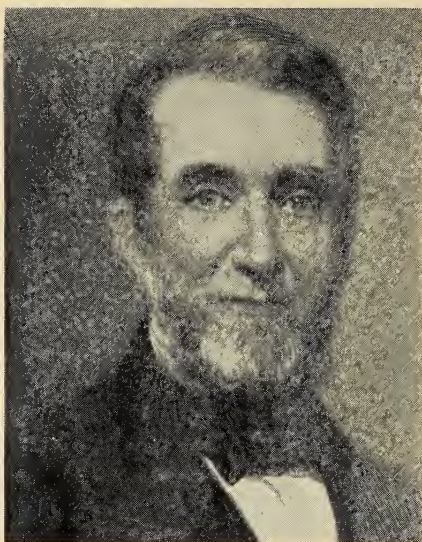
Because of growing interest in public schools, the General Assembly passed a school bill in 1841. This bill consisted of 109 sections. While it was an improvement over all previous bills, it did not bring about free public schools, because there was no provision for local taxation. A school law in 1845 added little to the bill of 1841 except that it provided for a state official to study and report on education. The Secretary of State was named the *ex officio* State Superintendent of Common Schools.

When it was decided in 1847 to draw up a new State Constitution, a number of people hoped for a strong statement supporting education. One of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention was George Bunsen (1794-1872) of St. Clair County. Bunsen was born in Germany, had studied under the great Pestalozzi, and had taught school. He left Germany in 1833 and settled on a farm in Illinois. He was vitally interested in education and drafted a fine and somewhat elaborate statement on education for the constitution. However, much to the irritation and disgust of a number of people, the final draft of the Constitution of 1848 made no mention of education.

Interested and agitated groups wrote to and talked to Horace C. Cooley (1806-1850), Secretary of State and *ex officio* Superintendent of Common Schools, urging him to call a convention of people interested in education; as a result, a four-day meeting was held in Springfield in January, 1849. The main discussion centered about free schools and a teacher

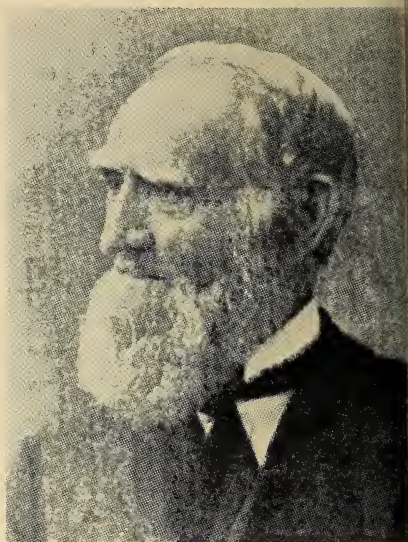
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<sup>26</sup> *Union Agriculturist* (Chicago), April, 1842.



NINIAN W. EDWARDS

Illinois' first Superintendent of Public Instruction.



JONATHAN B. TURNER

Teacher-farmer with a missionary zeal for education.

training institution. Among the more prominent speakers strongly urging state support were two future governors, William H. Bissell (1811-1860) of Monroe County and Richard Yates (1815-1873) of Morgan County.<sup>27</sup>

New impetus was given to developing public education at Griggsville, Illinois, on May 13, 1850, when Professor Jonathan B. Turner presented "A Plan for a State University for the Industrial Classes."<sup>28</sup> Professor Turner, a graduate of Yale, came to Illinois to teach in Illinois College at Jacksonville in 1833. As a teacher and a farmer, he was vitally interested in education throughout his life, and he spoke and wrote in its behalf with a missionary zeal.

Newspapers and periodicals gave a great deal of pub-

<sup>27</sup> Edwin C. Hewett, "State Normal University," *Seventeenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, 1889), lxxxiv-lxxxvi.

<sup>28</sup> Mary T. Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner* (Jacksonville, 1911), 74-94.

licity to Turner's plan and he was called on to speak on numerous occasions during the following months. On November 18, 1851, he was a leading participant at a gathering of farmers and laborers in Granville, Illinois. This group not only strongly endorsed Turner's plan for a university for the common man with departments for teacher training, agricultural techniques, and mechanical skills, but they also created the Industrial League.<sup>29</sup> Many of their principles and beliefs became the basis for the famous Morrill Act of 1862.

One of the most important meetings on the subject of education took place in December, 1853. The prime mover on this particular occasion was the president of the Central Female Academy of Bloomington, Daniel Wilkins. He, with Harry Lee, a school principal in Chicago, and James Hawley, a book agent from Dixon, got Alexander Starne, Secretary of State and *ex officio* Superintendent of Common Schools, to join them in calling a statewide meeting on free public schools and other educational matters. This meeting was held in the Methodist Church of Bloomington, on December 26-28.

The members of this group decided to form an organization so that they might act, not merely discuss and pass resolutions. These men were unanimous in their desire to have the state legislature create free public schools, and they felt that the creation of a separate office for education in the state was essential. They passed three resolutions and set up committees to implement each of them:

1. They organized the Illinois State Teachers Association, which became the Illinois Education Association in 1936.<sup>30</sup> (Officers were elected, the Rev. William Goodfellow of Illinois Wesleyan University was named president, active committees were set up, and arrangements were made for a second meeting in Peoria in the following December.)
2. They resolved to legislate for an office of Superin-

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 95-104.

<sup>30</sup> Irving F. Pearson, "The History of the Illinois Education Association" (Mimeographed, Springfield, [1952?]), 5.

tendent of Education. (At a special session called by Governor Joel Matteson in February, 1854, the legislature approved the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction and Ninian W. Edwards was named to hold the office until the next general election.)

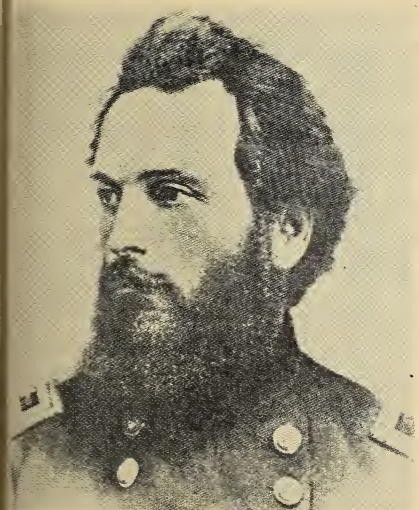
3. They authorized the publication of a periodical devoted to education. (*The Illinois Teacher* began publication in February, 1854 under the joint editorship of Daniel Wilkins and W. F. M. Arny. In 1855, Charles E. Hovey<sup>31</sup> [1827-1897], principal of the Boys Stock School of Peoria, became editor, and he greatly expanded the subscription list and the influence of the periodical.)

The Bloomington meeting stressed free public schools and before adjourning passed another resolution recommending that the legislature create a normal school.<sup>32</sup> The organization appointed an agent, Newton Bateman (1822-1897), to tour the state in behalf of its interests and to talk to legislators. In 1857 he was succeeded by the equally able and dynamic Simeon Wright (d. 1876).

As noted above, Ninian W. Edwards (1809-1886), son of ex-Governor Ninian Edwards, was named the first Superintendent of Public Instruction. He took his job very seriously and after only a few weeks in office invited some men to help him prepare a free public education bill for the legislature. An excellent bill was drawn up and presented to the proper legislative committees. The bill included many of the best features of the famous Education Act of 1825, plus some excellent sections on taxing rights and powers. The bill passed the Senate, but ran into difficulties in the House. After some modifications and the deletion of a few sections, the Education Act of 1855 was passed and signed by Governor Matteson (1808-1873). Fortunately, four sections, 67, 69, 70, and 71, granting taxing powers, were left in. Illinois, at long last,

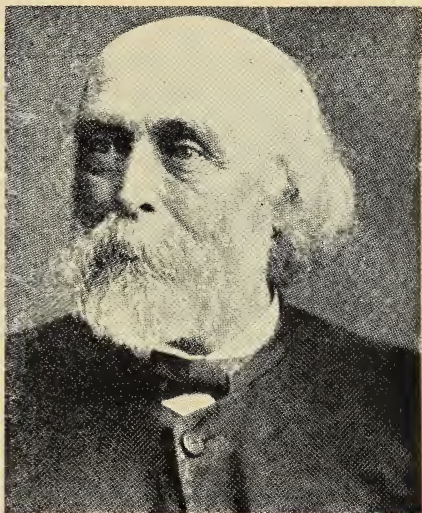
<sup>31</sup> "Autobiography of General C. E. Hovey," in John W. Cook and James V. McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University* (Normal, 1882), 28-46.

<sup>32</sup> *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Dec. 29, 1853.



CHARLES E. HOVEY

First Principal (President) of Illinois State Normal University and later a Civil War Major General.



NEWTON BATEMAN

Principal of Illinois' first high school and later Superintendent of Public Instruction.

was able to provide free education for those who wanted it.

The State Teachers Association, with the aid of many interested groups and individuals, played a large part in the creation of the Office of State Superintendent and in the passage of the free education act. Schools increased in numbers and enrollment, and high schools were established. There was now greater need than ever for the creation of a normal school. While it is true that there were a number of colleges in Illinois, their graduates were not trained specifically for teaching in elementary or high schools. The State Teachers Association had gone on record in support of a normal school, but it had been far from a unanimous decision. While the members were agreed on many things, there were three groups in evidence when a normal school was discussed. The Rev. William Goodfellow of Illinois Wesleyan and many of his colleagues among other private colleges, academies, and semi-

naries, hoped that the State's Seminary and College Funds<sup>33</sup> might be distributed among them if the state did not create a state-supported college. Jonathan Turner, Bronson Murray, and others were insistent that the state create an industrial university, which would not only train teachers but would also train farmers and mechanics. A third group pressed for a state-supported teachers college.

The latter group slowly grew in numbers and in enthusiasm. This group had among its members Ninian W. Edwards; William H. Powell, who was to succeed Edwards as the first elected Superintendent of Public Instruction in January, 1857; Newton Bateman, principal of the first high school in the state at Jacksonville, and later to be Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1859-1863 and 1865-1875; William H. Wells (1812-1885), new principal of the Chicago High School and previously head of the Normal School at Westfield, Massachusetts; John F. Brooks, principal of the Female Academy in Springfield and later to be Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1863-1865; Simeon Wright, former teacher in Lee County and at the time roving speaker for the Teachers Association; Charles E. Hovey, principal of the Boys Stock School of Peoria and first principal of Peoria's high school in July, 1857; and Daniel Wilkins, former principal of the Central Illinois Female Academy and from 1856-1869 McLean County School Commissioner or County Superintendent.

In the meeting of the Association in Springfield in December, 1855, all the officers elected were from the latter group and Hovey was not only elected president but was also named editor of *The Illinois Teacher*. The officers made very careful plans for the 1856 meeting in Chicago and listed as the two main speakers, Dr. Henry Barnard, a leader in the normal school movement in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and William H. Wells. Charles E. Hovey presided. On

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<sup>33</sup> John H. Burnham and E. A. Gastman, "Early History," from Cook and McHugh, *History of Normal*, 8.

the morning following Barnard's talk, the Association passed a resolution which strongly urged the legislature to take immediate steps to create a normal school.<sup>34</sup> Immediately following the passage of the resolution, Newton Bateman obtained the floor and read a letter written by Jonathan Turner. The latter stated that he and the Industrial League had hoped for an industrial university which would include among other curricula one for the training of teachers. However, because it seemed doubtful as to whether an institution such as the League desired would be given legislative approval at the time, he and the League would co-operate in a program requesting a normal school. Turner's generous and famous letter ended with, "It is high time, my friends, that you had your Normal School, whether we ever get an Agricultural Department to it or not. Let us all take hold together and try to obtain it in such form as you may, on the whole, think best." It is no wonder that Hovey said years later that this event was the turning point in the creation of a state-supported normal school.<sup>35</sup>

With a sweeping majority the Association voted that a committee be appointed to wait on the legislature. Charles Hovey, Daniel Wilkins, and President-elect Simeon Wright were named to meet with their colleague, William H. Powell, the Superintendent of Public Instruction-elect, and draft a bill for the legislature. These men prepared a bill in January, 1857, and Representative Samuel W. Moulton (1822-1905), who had helped with education bills previously, sponsored the bill in the House. Captain J. S. Post (1816-1886) of Decatur agreed to sponsor it in the Senate.

The bill passed the Senate 16 to 4, and the House 39 to 25, and on February 18, 1857, Governor William C. Bissell signed the act creating a normal university—the first state-supported institution of higher education in the state and the

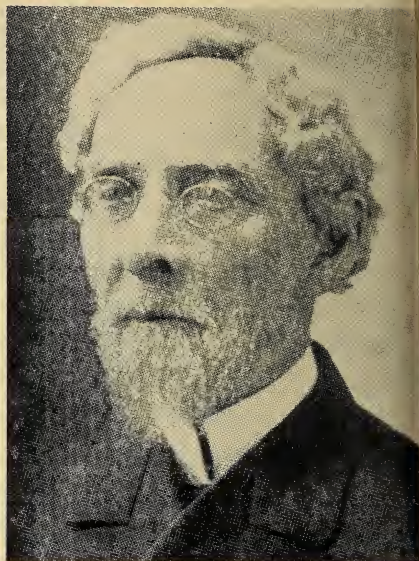
<sup>34</sup> *Illinois Teacher* [Peoria], Jan., 1857, p. 13.

<sup>35</sup> Cook and McHugh, *History of Normal*, 9-10.



SIMEON WRIGHT

Member of Illinois' first Board of Education, predecessor of the present Teachers College Board.



SAMUEL W. MOULTON

House of Representatives sponsor of the bill creating Illinois Normal University.

first normal school in the Mississippi Valley. The bill also named a state Board of Education composed of fifteen members, including the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Among the group were men familiar in educational circles, such as George Bunsen of St. Clair County, C. B. Denio of Galena, Ninian W. Edwards of Springfield, Charles E. Hovey of Peoria, Samuel W. Moulton of Shelby County, Dr. George P. Rex of Pike County, William Henry Wells of Chicago, Daniel Wilkins of Bloomington, and Simeon Wright of Lee County.

Elsewhere in this issue of this *Journal* is a description of the competition of a number of towns for the site of the normal university.<sup>36</sup> Under the management of Jesse Fell of North

<sup>36</sup> Helen E. Marshall, "The Town and the Gown," Pages 141-67, this *Journal*. J. H. Burnham, "How the Normal Was Located," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society* (Bloomington, 1903), II: 170-75. J. H. Burnham, *History of Bloomington and Normal in McLean County, Illinois* (Bloomington, 1879).

Bloomington, the site (created the town of Normal by act of May 4, 1867) was selected on May 7, 1857. A few weeks later, on June 23, Charles Hovey was chosen president over William F. Phelps, principal of the New Jersey State Normal School. Horace Mann, strongly considered for a while, withdrew his name shortly before the Board meeting.

Hovey and a number of the Board members spent a great deal of time during the summer developing a curriculum, studying and agreeing upon architectural plans for a permanent building, obtaining temporary classrooms, and selecting a suitable staff. On September 29, ceremonies were held for the laying of the cornerstone of the building later known as Old Main.<sup>37</sup> On the following Monday, October 5, classes opened in the upper stories of Major's Hall, a building on the southwest corner of East and Front streets in Bloomington. Because of an unfortunate delay<sup>38</sup> in the construction of Old Main, classes were continued in Major's Hall for three years. President Hovey had secured the services of Ira Moore,<sup>39</sup> a graduate of the Bridgewater Normal of Massachusetts (later to become president of State Normal at St. Cloud, Minnesota; then president of State Normal at San Jose, California) to assist him in teaching. He also hired, a few weeks later, Charlton T. Lewis from Troy University and Miss Mary M. Brooks (who became Mrs. James M. Wiley in 1860) of the Peoria public schools, to direct and teach in the Model School. On the first day nineteen students enrolled. This number increased to twenty-nine by the end of the second day and to one hundred and twenty-seven (seventy-four women and fifty-three men) by the end of the first year.<sup>40</sup>

By 1857, one phase of educational development in Illinois had been completed. The hopes and dreams, the thoughts

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<sup>37</sup> *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph*, Sept. 30, 1857.

<sup>38</sup> Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, 50-65.

<sup>39</sup> John A. H. Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University* (Normal, 1907), 349.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 33, 40.

and efforts of our pioneer leaders in education had met with a good deal of success by that date. Free public schools had been established, a number of high schools had been organized, the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction had been created, and a normal university had opened classes. However, much still needed to be done in 1858; buildings were inadequate, teachers were underpaid and often inadequately prepared, and school attendance was not compulsory. Each decade since 1857 has found in Illinois improvement in the education of its citizens. In 1957, when one looks back of the history of the educational system in Illinois, he marvels at the progress that has been made and he realizes the debt he owes certain leaders and groups who gave of their time and physical and mental energy to create a worthwhile educational program. As he looks ahead, he needs to dedicate himself to participate in the continuing growth and development of education, so well begun and developed by our forefathers decades ago.

## THE TOWN AND THE GOWN

BY HELEN E. MARSHALL

FOR NEARLY a century the history of Illinois State Normal University and that of the town which bears its name have been closely interwoven. They have grown and matured together, not always seeing eye to eye, but for the most part taking pride in each other's growth and development, and giving a hand when there was need for help.

On May 7, 1857, the Board of Education which was to manage the new normal school, met in Peoria, opened bids, and announced that the school would be located at Bloomington. The site selected was a rise of ground north and west of the junction of the Illinois Central and the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis railroads.<sup>1</sup>

Jesse W. Fell, the Quaker pioneer who migrated to Bloomington in 1832, had become the town's first lawyer and engaged in sundry ventures in printing, merchandising, raising nursery stock, land speculation, and real estate promotion. Very early he saw possibilities in the prairie land to the north,<sup>2</sup> and obtained options and later purchased several tracts.<sup>3</sup> He selected a site where he hoped someday to build a home. In the

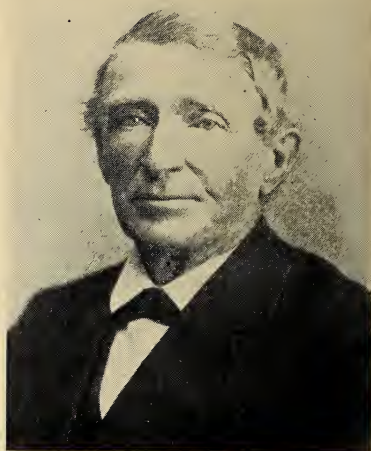
<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Peoria, May 7, 1857 (Bloomington, 1858), 7.

<sup>2</sup> Six months after Fell arrived in Bloomington he was worth \$60,000. Frances Milton I. Morehouse, *The Life of Jesse W. Fell* (*University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, Vol. V, no. 2, Urbana, 1916), 18.

<sup>3</sup> Fell, like many speculators of the period, lost everything in the panic of 1837, but after a brief respite during which he practiced law he resumed his ventures in real estate.

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1850's when the Illinois Central and the Chicago, Alton and St. Louis were contemplating lines he used his influence with various legislators to help the railroads secure charters conditional upon their routes' passing through Bloomington. Later he prevailed upon the surveyors so that the roads intersected at a point north of Bloomington on land on which he had an option. This junction would be a likely site for a village to develop and town lots always prompted a quick and substantial return on land investments. When it was definitely decided that the Alton route should be half a mile west of the public square in Bloomington and that the crossing would be two miles to the north, Fell organized a company and laid out the tract in city blocks.



JESSE W. FELL

Founder of the town and friend of the school.

Fell and his friends who were engaged in numerous other town site developments in central Illinois entrusted the sale of lots to W. F. M. Army, a former Disciples of Christ minister who had come to Bloomington in 1850 and engaged in real estate promotion. Fell reserved a triangular tract of about fifteen acres south and west of the junction. Here he envisaged his future home in the center of a park. The block across from it was set aside for a seminary and became known as Seminary Block. Fell corresponded with Horace Mann and other eastern educators relative to such a school. The first street west of the Illinois Central was named Broadway. Originally the streets running east and west below the junction were numbered; those north and south were named for trees.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Map of North Bloomington, 1854.* Proprietors, J. W. Fell, R. R. Landon, C. W. Holder, L. C. Blakeslee, L. R. Case. (Lithographed by Latimer Brothers, New York).

Two hundred lots were included in the tract then known as North Bloomington. The first lots were offered for sale June 1, 1854, but to the disappointment of the proprietors, only about thirty were sold at prices ranging between \$30 and \$40.<sup>5</sup> For the time being Fell turned his attention to other schemes. He bought timber lands about twenty miles north of Cairo and with Lyman Blakeslee, a partner in the Bloomington project, built a lumber mill. The venture showed little profit after the first year and in 1856 he moved his family back to Bloomington and to the large house he had erected near the junction.<sup>6</sup> Except for the home of William McCambridge, the stationmaster, there was no other house within a quarter of a mile of the junction when Governor William H. Bissell, on February 18, 1857, signed the bill creating Illinois State Normal University.<sup>7</sup>

The act provided that the school would be located at the place offering the most favorable inducements, easy access, and healthful surroundings and largest financial guaranty for the construction of buildings. The college or seminary funds were to be used solely for maintenance. The alacrity with which the measure passed was easily attributed to the fact that the school was not to cost the taxpayers a cent.

Fell quickly saw possibilities in securing the new normal school, making North Bloomington a school town, and attracting to it a class of citizens that he wanted as neighbors and associates. After thinking the matter over he decided not to offer Seminary Block as the site but settled on a larger tract farther from Bloomington. Public spirited citizens desired the school but were not in agreement on the site, and soon five others were proposed. Meanwhile Fell and his friends busied themselves soliciting subscriptions in cash, notes, land, and even nursery stock. Advertently or inadvertently

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<sup>5</sup> John W. Cook and James V. McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University* (Normal, Ill., 1882), 14-15.

<sup>6</sup> Harriet Fyffe Richardson, *Quaker Pioneers* (Milwaukee, 1940), 28.

<sup>7</sup> Morehouse, *Life of Jesse W. Fell*, 41.

several donors of substantial tracts north of town made their subscriptions conditional upon the location of the school within three-fourths of a mile from the junction; others stipulated that it must be within three miles of Bloomington.<sup>8</sup> The location that Fell favored was a rise of ground on the Parkinson farm recently purchased by Dr. Joseph Payne and Meshack Pike. It easily satisfied the stipulation of Judge David Davis, Edwin Bakewell, and others.

Other towns in Illinois aspired to be the home of the new school. Batavia offered a ready-made plant, the grounds of the Batavia Institute, and \$15,000 in cash. Washington in Tazewell County offered buildings and grounds of the Washington Academy and \$1,200. Peoria appeared to be the most formidable rival. When Fell learned how much Peoria was bidding, he doubled his efforts, increased his own subscription to \$2,000 and twenty-five hundred acres of Jackson County land valued at five dollars an acre. He induced the county commissioners, who had subscribed for McLean County a sum equal to the private subscriptions, to add to the swamp lands already pledged, enough to bring the whole amount of the Bloomington bid to \$141,000.

There was great excitement in Bloomington when Editor E. J. Lewis of the *Daily Pantagraph* telegraphed home the news that Bloomington's bid had exceeded Peoria's by \$60,000.<sup>9</sup> Few persons were concerned about the cries of collusion, fraud, and skullduggery that came from the Peoria press.<sup>10</sup> When angry Peorians questioned the title to the swamp lands, Fell and his friends had no difficulty in finding eighty-five citizens who promptly affixed their names to a bond pledging from \$500 to \$5,000,<sup>11</sup> that in case of default on the McLean County subscription they would share the loss pro

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>9</sup> *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph*, May 8, 1857.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, May 12, 1857.

<sup>11</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Bloomington, May 25, 1857 (Bloomington, 1858), 25-30.

rata, according to the amounts listed opposite their names.

Board members Dr. George P. Rex of Perry and Charles E. Hovey of Peoria were sent east to inspect normal schools and report at the June meeting with recommendations on building and curriculum. Meanwhile "the Committee on officers" began the search for a faculty. Jesse Fell, who was not a member of the governing Board, had early unofficial correspondence with Horace Mann. He hoped to see Mann as principal of the school and had gone so far as to circulate a paper among businessmen guaranteeing him a salary of \$2,500. Opposition to Mann arose among the Methodists and proslavery men who labeled him a "damned abolitionist." It was rumored that a Peoria faction threatened to kill him if he were appointed. Under these pressures Mann, who was ill and unhappy, withdrew and Charles Hovey of Peoria was appointed.<sup>12</sup>

Temporary quarters for the school which was to open on October 5, were secured in Major's Hall, scene of Abraham Lincoln's "lost speech" of the year previous. The architect, George Randall of Chicago, was employed to draw up plans embodying the ideas submitted by the various members of the Board. Writing of the design, Professor Charles A. Harper said that the final draft represented a compromise. Local people who subscribed money and land wanted something grand; some wanted porches, others a central tower or dome, and still others a building of at least three stories. Randall, the architect, described the finished building as "modified Renaissance"—feature by feature it may have been an architectural monstrosity but the total effect was one of harmony, dignity, and beauty.<sup>13</sup>

Contracts were let and construction began, with Jesse

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<sup>12</sup> John Eberhart to Manfred J. Holmes (undated), Manfred J. Holmes Papers (MSS, Milner Library); Morehouse, *Life of Jesse W. Fell*, 46; *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Bloomington, June 23, 1857 (Bloomington, 1858), 12.

<sup>13</sup> Charles A. Harper, "Old Main," *Illinois State Normal University Bulletin*, Vol. XLIV (Sept., 1946), 19.

Fell privately appropriating for himself the distinction of turning the first shovelful of earth.<sup>14</sup> The week before classes started the foundation of Joliet limestone was up sufficiently for the laying of the cornerstone. Elaborate plans were made and when the distinguished guests failed to arrive the townspeople took matters in their own hands, and local orators spoke impromptu. Within the huge stone block were sealed appropriate mementoes: a list of county officers and other donors, a *Bible*, a copy of the *School Laws*, and copies of the *Illinois Teacher* and the *Daily Pantagraph*.<sup>15</sup>

That evening a Bloomington youth, Justin Richardson, wrote in his diary that the speakers "had seemed to gain inspiration from the transcendent importance of the occasion" and he mused upon the untold "influence the school might exercise in years to come," "more powerful," "salutary," and "enduring than its granite foundation" (granite perhaps being more poetic than Joliet limestone).<sup>16</sup>

Nineteen students, six men and thirteen women, greeted Principal Hovey and his assistant, Ira Moore, that first day of school, October 5, 1857. More students came in the afternoon; by the following morning there were twenty-nine and when the last pupil enrolled a week later the total was forty-three.<sup>17</sup> Before the school year was up 127 had enrolled.

In other matters the school had not fared so well. By October, 1857 the nation was in the grip of a financial panic. On Friday before school started the *Daily Pantagraph* carried a list of 102 banks that had failed.<sup>18</sup> It was estimated that 20,000 persons were unemployed in Chicago where 117 establishments had failed. The impact was felt in central Illinois;

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<sup>14</sup> *Daily Pantagraph*, Aug. 24, 1857.

<sup>15</sup> *National Flag* [Bloomington] Sept. 30, 1857; *Daily Pantagraph*, Sept. 30, 1857.

<sup>16</sup> Justin Richardson, "Diary," Tues., Nov. 29, 1857, R. W. Fairchild Papers (MSS, Milner Library).

<sup>17</sup> Principal C. E. Hovey "Report to the Board of Education," *Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois for the Years 1857-58* (Springfield, 1859), 389.

<sup>18</sup> *Daily Pantagraph*, Oct. 2, 1857.

tragic overtones of the panic of 1837 still lingered in the minds of Fell, David Davis, John Magoun, Asahel Gridley, and others. The market for lands in which so many of the McLean County donors had made their pledges fell. After it was not possible to meet even the first payment to the contractors in full, construction stopped.

The location of the school north of the junction had caused a slight upsurge in the buying of lots in the vicinity but the panic and interruption in the building program delayed business development and further home construction. Fell, whose faith in the ultimate growth of the community remained undimmed, continued to lay out streets and plant saplings to mark what he dreamed one day would be shaded walks and drives. He was much interested in the possibilities of sorghum and in 1857 planted it generously, set up a mill with press, vats, and reducing pans, and put his product on the market. There was no demand for Fell's sorghum and farmers in the vicinity declined to bother with a crop which required more labor than the returns justified.<sup>19</sup> Fell's next scheme for making North Bloomington an industrial as well as a cultural center was the locating of a foundry. L. R. Blakeslee, also a partner in this enterprise, erected a foundry and a large boarding house for workmen. Efficient labor could not be found and the enterprise was abandoned, but not before some of the cast-iron fixtures used in the construction of the normal school building were turned out.<sup>20</sup> The new town seemed destined not to become famous for manufactures.

After two years and heroic sacrifices on the part of Principal Hovey who secured loans on his personal credit, construction was resumed in the summer of 1859. Samuel Rounds, the new contractor prospecting over the neighborhood for clay to be fired into brick, struck a seven-foot bed of excellent quality near the summit of the hill not far from the site<sup>21</sup> of

<sup>19</sup> Morehouse, *Life of Jesse W. Fell*, 75.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>21</sup> *Bloomington Weekly Pantagraph*, May 18, 1859.



IN THE 1860'S OLD MAIN STOOD ALONE OUT ON THE OPEN PRAIRIE

the building. A kiln was set up at the present location of the Normal Central School. By June, 1860 the building was sufficiently completed that commencement exercises for the first graduating class could be held in the auditorium on the third floor.<sup>22</sup>

The completion and occupation of the University building brought more residents to the little community. By 1860 there were thirty houses in the vicinity of the junction.<sup>23</sup> It was necessary for students to commute two miles from Bloomington for the first two years that classes met on the new campus. Principal Hovey and later President Richard Edwards always made a point of inquiring whether a prospective faculty member was able and willing to build a house and keep students. Hovey's own home on Mulberry Street, completed in 1863, was designed to take care of sixteen students. Professor Thomas Metcalf's home, with its English style basement, on the southwest corner of Broadway and North Street would accommodate twelve students in addition to the family.

<sup>22</sup> *The Anniversary Week at Bloomington* (Chicago, 1860), 46-49.

<sup>23</sup> John Howard Burnham, "Bloomington Township," *History of McLean County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), 437.

Professor Edwin C. Hewett, who was later president, built a house at 202 Ash Street and kept students. President Edwards' large house on Broadway cared for twenty-four students as well as his own growing family.<sup>24</sup> The Jesse Fells and other families helped by taking from two to twenty students. With the rate of lodgings at a dollar to a dollar and a quarter a week, renting rooms to students in the 1860's was a noble cause rather than a remunerative business. The fact that fuel, candles, linen, and laundry were furnished by the students was some comfort to the householder.

The matter of meals was likewise a problem of much concern to administrators. There were no restaurants at first, and if there had been, few students were financially able to patronize them. In later years boarding clubs became popular. For years many students did "light housekeeping," bringing food from home, storing, and cooking, and eating it in the same room in which they studied and slept. A sister and brother often pooled resources with the son and daughter of a neighbor, shared rooms and cooked together. Until near the turn of the century young men and young women were permitted to have rooms in the same house.<sup>25</sup>

President Edwards in his report to the Board in June, 1865, lamented the poor quarters and food available for the students. He proposed that a building capable of housing 150 of them be erected by the state or by private subscription and "furnished with the most approved cooking apparatus, with sleeping, bathing, and study rooms and a gymnasium conveniently arranged, also with parlors for receiving company."<sup>26</sup> Despite frequent appeals to the General Assembly for appropriations for dormitories none was forthcoming for half a century and the loyal townspeople long continued to

<sup>24</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Bloomington, June 22, 1865 (Peoria, 1865), 6-7.

<sup>25</sup> Henry McCormick, "Reminiscences," Illinois State Normal University, *The Index*, 1907, p. 28.

<sup>26</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Bloomington, June 21 and 22, 1865 (Peoria, 1865), 6-7.

serve the University by providing homes for the students.

As the village grew up about the junction, it increased in beauty. Jesse Fell had returned from a visit to West Philadelphia and Germantown in 1856 convinced that a tree-planting campaign would make North Bloomington as attractive as any town in the East. He next obtained from the legislature a special act permitting the fencing of young trees planted in open streets for their temporary protection.<sup>27</sup> Fell wished to plant double rows of trees along the streets after the manner in Hadley, Massachusetts, but North Bloomington's streets had not been surveyed on such a lavish scale and only on a few was more than a single row of trees possible. Thirteen thousand trees were planted in the area even before the university was located. At first Fell planted black locust because the wood was durable and the growth rapid; however, when borers attacked the young locust groves, he turned to hard and soft maples, ash, American and British elm, linden, catalpa, European larch and various species of evergreen. Bloomington was known as the Evergreen City and soon North Bloomington shared in the distinction. Many of the trees came from Fell's or his brother Kersey's nurseries. Unsold lots were frequently leased by Phoenix, Mann and Overton, as branch nurseries. The neat rows of slender saplings and little cone-shaped evergreens gave an air of trimness to the expanding village.

In 1857 Fell engaged the services of William Saunders, a Philadelphia landscape artist, to draw plans for trees and plantings at his home, Greenwood. He then influenced the Board to obtain Saunders' services for a plan for the University grounds. The plan submitted was designed to make the campus a veritable arboretum.<sup>28</sup> Some nursery stock was originally subscribed by F. K. Phoenix and the firm of Overman

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<sup>27</sup> *Private Laws of the State of Illinois . . . 1857* (Springfield, 1857), 1: 509. The act was approved Feb. 13, 1857.

<sup>28</sup> Saunders' charge to the University for drawing the landscape plans was \$65. Morehouse, *Life of Jesse W. Fell*, 108.

and Mann, and as soon as Saunders submitted his plan, Fell began transplanting many trees from his own grounds including a row of tulip trees that graced the south edge of the horseshoe drive south of the Normal University building.

The business district grew up in the long block east of the Illinois Central and north of the junction along the street paralleling the Chicago and Alton which came to be known as Beaufort Street. Across from the station, Fell and his friend, William Pennell, built a hotel. It was a four-story structure with a mansard roof, wide verandas, large rooms, genteel furnishings, and a spacious ballroom which for a time made it a social center for the two towns. Wealthy Bloomington socialites were just beginning to entertain outside their homes and the Pennell House was engaged for special occasions, weddings, breakfasts, anniversary receptions, club banquets, and balls with midnight suppers. It was burned in 1872 and, despite its popularity, was not rebuilt.<sup>29</sup>

There were no sidewalks aside from the uneven wooden platforms in front of the stores. Cinder paths led to and from the houses. The streets abounded in ruts and mudholes and night-time travel was precarious without the aid of lanterns. In one of Fell's earliest subscriptions to the University, he had stipulated that the first \$500 should be expended in making a good sidewalk or footwalk to the junction from the University,<sup>30</sup> but it was years before there was anything other than a cinder path.

In its first years North Bloomington was regarded as a part of Bloomington Township but in 1857 the territory was resurveyed and the name "Town of Normal" given to the new township in honor of the projected Normal University. The school district came to be known as "School District No. 2 of the Town of Normal." In 1858 by common consent the name of the settlement at the junction was changed from North

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 76; *Daily Pantagraph*, Mar. 16, 1910.

<sup>30</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education* (Bloomington, Ill., 1858), 29. The date of this list of "Individual Subscriptions" is April 20, 1857.

Bloomington to Normal,<sup>31</sup> and on February 16, 1865, Governor Richard Oglesby signed a bill giving official sanction to the change. A postoffice had been established in 1861 with Jesse Fell as postmaster.<sup>32</sup>

On September 9, 1865, notice was circulated that there would be a public meeting at the Normal postoffice on Monday, September 18, to consider and vote on the question "Whether or not it would be expedient to incorporate said town as provided under the General Act authorizing towns to incorporate." L. A. Hovey was elected chairman of the meeting and W. G. Parr, secretary. The matter of incorporation was discussed and the vote stood 37 to 0 in favor.

At an election held at the postoffice on Saturday, September 30, D. P. Fyffe, L. A. Hovey, Wesley Pearce, John A. Rockwood, and S. J. Reeder each received eleven votes and were declared elected trustees. When this board organized on October 2, Pearce was elected president and Reeder, clerk. The first ordinance was passed on March 6, 1866. It related to smallpox.

For two years the town government operated under the general law but in 1867 the founders of the town took steps to secure the present charter from the General Assembly.<sup>33</sup> A feature of this charter is the perpetual no-saloon clause. In making deeds of sale to lots that Fell owned, he always stipulated that no intoxicating liquors should be sold upon the premises. Others who owned land in the vicinity were in sympathy with his ideas, and it was understood from the beginning that Normal should always be a prohibition town as Bloomington had been in 1854 and 1855.<sup>34</sup>

Members of the General Assembly were not noted for their temperance, and the liquor interests of the state lobbied

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<sup>31</sup> David Felmley, "The Debt of Normal University to Jesse W. Fell," *The Alumni Quarterly*, Vol. V (Aug., 1916), 4.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with C. E. Burner, Normal, June, 1953.

<sup>33</sup> *Charter and the Compiled Ordinances of the Town of Normal, Illinois* (Normal, Authority of the Town Council, July, 1930), 4.

<sup>34</sup> Morehouse, *Life of Jesse W. Fell*, 74.

to have the prohibition clause stricken from the proposed charter. When Fell and his friends heard of this they called a citizens' meeting at the Baptist Church on November 22. The matter was discussed and a set of resolutions previously drawn up was adopted. At the suggestion of John Dodge, those present signed the resolution and other signatures were to be secured before the next meeting on December 6:<sup>35</sup>

#### A PETITION

Believing that the sale of intoxicating liquors for any other than mechanical and medical purposes to be highly detrimental to the best interests of the community morally, socially and pecuniarily. Therefore,

Resolved: That we will not only discountenance by every means in our power such a traffic but we *will not tolerate its existence among us*.

Resolved: That our Town Council be respectfully requested to enact with all convenient dispatch an ordinance declaring such a traffic a common nuisance and we hereby mutually pledge ourselves to abate it as such should anyone be so false to the known sentiments of our people as to engage in such a demoralizing and detestable traffic.

As indicating our approval of the above proceedings the undersigned have hereunto set their hands this 22nd day of November 1866.<sup>36</sup>

The first signers were William A. Pennell and his wife. One hundred others signed that evening and a few days later twelve papers were circulated. President Edwards secured the signatures of the normal school students. A total of 901 names appeared on the petition which it was said included the name of every man, woman, and child over six in the town. William Pennell and Jesse Fell took the petition to Springfield and used their influence to secure the charter with the prohibition clause.<sup>37</sup> In 1935 when the matter of local option was submitted to the citizens upon a petition of twenty-five per cent of the voters as provided under act of the General Assembly, March 11, 1935, the community voted 2 to 1 to retain the venerable prohibition clause.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Bloomington Weekly Pantagraph*, Dec. 19, 1866.

<sup>37</sup> The original copies of the petition are in the McLean County Historical Society library, in Bloomington.

A heavy pall of debt hung over the Normal University in the fall of 1860; there was a mortgage upon the very building. It had been completed largely because of the personal risks taken by Hovey and the fact that Jesse Fell and Charles Holder had been willing to act as security for loans made to Hovey and Samuel Moulton on behalf of the Board of Education. Local merchants advanced credit to the contractors on the strength of Hovey's assurances that when the General Assembly met in January, 1861, an appropriation would be made to cover any deficiency in the building fund. It was a daring piece of financiering—the legislature had to be convinced.

The building had cost \$145,000. The structure and its fixtures together with 160 acres of land and unpaid collectible subscriptions amounted to nearly \$200,000. The Board had collected all but \$76,000, but the liabilities amounted to \$65,000. If this sum could not be raised the building would have to be surrendered and the normal school would collapse. Much was at stake—the future of the community, as well as that of the school.

Principal Hovey was confident that if the legislators saw the school in operation, they would appropriate funds to lift its indebtedness. The Board concurred in a plan to invite the entire legislature for dedication ceremonies on January 24, 1861.<sup>38</sup> A citizens' committee assisted with arrangements. The Chicago, Alton and St. Louis Railroad was induced to provide a special train from Springfield to Bloomington and return. There would be a tour of the building, a cold collation in Normal Hall at noon, demonstrations in music, geography, and mental arithmetic, a dedicatory program, a banquet and a grand ball in the evening. Mrs. Jesse Fell and her cousin, Mrs. C. W. Holder, planned the menus and arranged for the caterers. Every citizen in the two communities regarded the

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<sup>38</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Bloomington, Dec. 20, 1860 (Peoria, 1868), 3.

visit of the General Assembly as a matter of great significance. Even hotel accommodations were free to the special guests.<sup>39</sup>

The legislative visitors were duly impressed with the building, the operation of the school, and McLean County hospitality, so much in fact that a number failed to make the midnight special and had to remain to take trains the next day. Although the *Illinois Teacher* regretted the "noisy carousal" that closed the day, the end seems to have justified the means, and on February 14, Governor Richard Yates signed the bill which it was hoped would free the Normal University from debt and financial embarrassment.<sup>40</sup>

This was not to be the last legislative visit to Normal University but on subsequent inspections the community extended less lavish hospitality. For the entertainment and reception of the visiting committee of the General Assembly in 1875, the town council of Normal appointed a committee of five and made an appropriation of one hundred dollars.<sup>41</sup> After the legislative visit in 1877 the council allowed bills for expenses incurred in the entertainment of visitors: Ora Lackey \$13.50 for 150 cigars; L. C. Green \$6.00 for seventy-five cigars; and C. Shensfeldt \$16.00 for use of carriages.<sup>42</sup>

It was a matter of considerable pride to the faculty that every member of the first graduating class was a member of a church. To minister to the religious needs of students in the first years after the school was moved to the new building, Sunday afternoon services were conducted in Normal Hall by various Bloomington pastors; but as the town of Normal grew, churches were built and students were encouraged to attend. Methodist and Congregational churches were organized in 1865; the Baptist in 1866; the Presbyterian in 1868; and the Christian in 1873. The Methodist Church with its

<sup>39</sup> *Illinois Teacher*, Vol. VII (Feb., 1861), 78; *Weekly Pantagraph*, Jan. 30, 1861.

<sup>40</sup> Subsequently many claims for unpaid bills arose. Richard Edwards wrote his wife on June 14, 1862 that there was danger the building might be taken for debt. Edwards Papers, Milner Library.

<sup>41</sup> Official Record of the Town of Normal, Normal City Hall, Jan. 28, 1875.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 13, 1877.

two handsome spires was dedicated in 1868.<sup>43</sup> The townspeople welcomed students to attend services, to sing in the choir, and to join them in their strawberry festivals in the spring and harvest celebrations in the fall. As the winter months wore on and the boarding house parlors became crowded, more and more young couples could be seen trudging off to Sunday evening services and afterward strolling slowly home.

In 1867 the University and the village became more intimately associated with Bloomington and the cultural advantages that it had to offer when a group of public-spirited men, including Jesse Fell, William Hendrix, William Pennell, Henry C. Fell, Norval Dixon, and Lyman Ferre undertook to construct a street car line, not for profit but for civic development. At first Board members hesitated about granting permission to the company to construct tracks across the east side of the campus, inasmuch as the cars would pass so close to the women's rooming houses that they might be diverted from their studies. Governor John M. Palmer approved the charter and the road was constructed. For the first few months dummy engines were used to pull the cars but housewives along the line protested against the great clouds of black smoke that soiled lace curtains at the windows and the freshly washed clothes drying on the lines. Mules were then substituted and pulled the jingling little cars over the bumpy tracks until electric trolleys were installed in the 1890's.<sup>44</sup> In 1902 a franchise was granted by the town of Normal for the Normal loop and Fell Avenue lines, thus increasing the areas served by the street railways. In the earlier years cars operated on a forty-minute schedule, with no service after nine at night except for special events. Students continued to commute from south Bloomington by railroad and for a time classes were scheduled according to the time of train arrivals. Despite President Edwin C. Hewett's repeated warnings, some

<sup>43</sup> *History of McLean County, Illinois*, 450

<sup>44</sup> Richardson, "Diary," Morehouse, *Life of Jesse W. Fell*, 90; Proceedings of the Board of Education, Normal, June 27, 1867 (Peoria, 1867), 11.

of the daring young men persisted in "riding the rods."

The coming of the street railway made slight improvement in the condition of Normal's streets. For more than sixty years the muddy, rutted streets were a hazard to carriages and pedestrians alike. In 1873 a poll tax of three dollars was levied against each and every citizen of the town of Normal to be paid in cash—with the option of two days' work on the streets.<sup>45</sup> University students were not exempt. As late as June, 1904, President David Felmley reported to the Board of Education that Mulberry Street was so muddy that wagons could not get the coal supply to the campus and asked that it be paved as far as Bates House and that such an appropriation be made.<sup>46</sup> Aside from the business district it was some years before a city-wide program of street paving was begun.

Although a gas plant was built in 1857, it was 1901 before a franchise was obtained from the town council of Normal to lay mains and use local alleys and streets. Normal was likewise far behind Bloomington in the matter of street lighting. In the early 1870's a small area near the business district and the University was outfitted with kerosene-burning street lights. Lighting street lamps was a police function until October, 1877, when John Livermore was employed to light and extinguish the lamps for \$20 a month.<sup>47</sup> Electricity came to Bloomington in 1880 and within ten years it had shifted from gas lamps to electric lights.<sup>48</sup> It was some years later that the sight of the familiar lamplighter passed from the Normal scene. In 1892 installation of 106 electric lights in the University building in place of kerosene chandeliers and bracket lamps was hailed as the dawning of a bright new era.<sup>49</sup> But it was well into the twentieth century before electric street

<sup>45</sup> Official Record, Town of Normal, May 5, 1873, MSS. Jacob L. Hasbrouck, ed., *History of McLean County, Illinois* (Topeka-Indianapolis, 1924), I: 226.

<sup>46</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Bloomington, June 1, 1904 (Springfield, 1904), 10.

<sup>47</sup> Official Record, Town of Normal, Oct. 9, 1877.

<sup>48</sup> *History of McLean County, Illinois*, I: 228.

<sup>49</sup> *Vidette* [Normal University student newspaper], (Sept., 1892), 29; *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Normal, Dec. 21, 1892 (Springfield, 1892), 13.

lights supplied by the town's own electric plant replaced the antiquated street lamps and townspeople and students abandoned their trusty and handy lanterns when they fared forth on dark or stormy nights.<sup>50</sup>

Water and sewage disposal likewise came late to Normal. Until the turn of the century, a cistern, a deep well, and outdoor "facilities" with grape arbor approaches were standard equipment of Normal's homes. In 1860 the "ultra-modern" University with its great leaden attic tanks with a capacity of 160 tons of water for operating its gravity type washrooms had been unique, but the water supply could not be depended upon and the University eventually resorted to digging its own well and installing a pressure pump. Until the city water system was installed, open mosquito-infested rain barrels at the rear of stores in the business district were the time-honored adjuncts of the volunteer fire fighting department.

The first telephone system was set up in Bloomington in 1880 and a year later the Board commended President Hewett for his foresightedness in having a telephone in the reception hall with a signal bell in the assembly room above. The Committee on Buildings and Grounds reported the telephone as "a modern improvement which can not well be dispensed with in this institution." It was not only a convenience but the Bloomington Fire Department could be contacted in less than a minute.<sup>51</sup> In 1896 the town council granted the Home Telephone Company of Bloomington a franchise to extend its system to Normal. Rates for fifteen years were not to be higher than \$20 for residences and \$30 for business houses within half a mile of the Normal exchange. One free tele-

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<sup>50</sup> When the local plant was destroyed by an explosion the town concluded to buy its current from the plant servicing Bloomington.

<sup>51</sup> The installation was \$55; the cost of operation was estimated at \$50 a year. Proceedings of the Board of Education, Normal, Jan. 19, 1881 (Springfield, 1881), 20.

In 1913, when President Felmley was about to have fifty-two telephones installed on the campus he got bids from three firms. A Massachusetts manufacturing company bid \$901.50 and "threw in" a roll top desk worth \$60.

David Felmley to Peleg R. Walker of Rockford, Normal, Jan. 2, 1913. David Felmley Papers (Milner Library).

phone was to be provided the City Hall and each of the two public school buildings.<sup>52</sup>

In educating the children of the community Normal University and the town have ever been closely associated. The first school in the district was held in a small frame building which John Reece had erected as a shop for the men who were building Jesse Fell's Greenwood. It stood near the corner of Broadway and Vernon. The lumber had been shipped by Fell from his mill at Ullin. The frames and floor were of hard oak, the siding of poplar, and the seats of red cypress. Classes began in September, 1856, with Mary Shannon as teacher. Among her pupils were Fell's fourteen- and twelve-year-old daughters, Eliza and Clara. Another student was William McCambridge, son of the stationmaster. In 1858 the board of directors, consisting of Fell, John R. Dodge, and George Thomson, employed W. O. Davis to teach the school for six months after which it was abandoned. A private school was then set up in Fell's library and taught for a time by Davis, then by Mary Daniells, a graduate of Mt. Holyoke Seminary.<sup>53</sup>

The Model School established the first year that Normal University was in operation was close to the hearts of both Hovey and Edwards. The latter believed it was not only essential that prospective teachers observe master teaching but that they be given the opportunity to teach under supervision. When the University moved to the new building in 1860, there were ample provisions for a normal, a high school, and an elementary department. An arrangement was effected so that children from School District Two and all others in the vicinity of the junction might attend classes in the Normal University building or in other buildings that might be constructed as the need arose.<sup>54</sup> Until 1861 the Model School,

<sup>52</sup> Official Record, Town of Normal, Feb. 3, 1896.

<sup>53</sup> Enoch A. Fritter, "The Normal School District," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society*, Vol. II (Bloomington, 1903), 92-93.

<sup>54</sup> Report of the Principal, Richard Edwards to the "Board of Education of the State of Illinois," in *Fourth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, 1861-1862*, pp. 62-63.

under the supervision of the principal of the university high school, was the only school in the village of Normal. By 1863 it enrolled 170 pupils and occupied six rooms on the first floor of the building. Four years later it had 580 pupils. The income from the Model School was \$5,000 a year.<sup>55</sup>

By 1865 the population of the district had increased so greatly that it was voted at the annual meeting to buy lots and build a school house. Subsequently three lots were purchased at the corner of Ash and School streets for \$600 and a contract given W. F. Bushnell for the construction of a \$13,600 school building. In September, 1867, the grammar and intermediate grades were moved into the new building.<sup>56</sup>

For seven years school moneys of the district were turned over to the State Board of Education and the Normal University provided the teachers and classrooms. Objection to the arrangement was touched off in the spring of 1867 when a Negro child was admitted. The *Chicago Times* took up the cudgel against the school and the *Chicago Republican* took up the defense. A few parents took their children out of school but later returned them. The Normal Board voted in December, 1867, to terminate the contract between the district and the University at the end of the scholastic year.<sup>57</sup>

The Model School continued to serve faculty children and pupils whose parents preferred to pay tuition in order that their children might receive their training at Normal University. Tuition was not discontinued until 1901. In 1889 and 1890 "practice" teaching by pupil teachers was carried on in the primary department of the public schools under the supervision of Mrs. Lida Brown McMurtry. When she became a member of the University staff, the practice teaching arrangement was dropped.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises* (Normal, 1956), 130.

<sup>56</sup> *Trans. McLean Co. Hist. Soc.*, II: 94.

<sup>57</sup> Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States with Special Reference to Illinois State Normal University* (Bloomington, 1935), 137.

<sup>58</sup> *Trans. McLean Co. Hist. Soc.*, 95.

The high school department of the University, which had earned an enviable reputation among eastern colleges, continued until 1895 to serve the boys and girls of the district who went on to secondary school. When Governor John P. Altgeld ordered the closing of the high school in 1895 because he believed it was serving the community rather than the cause of teacher training, the town established its own high school.<sup>59</sup>

Although a special training school building had been erected in 1892, there were not enough rooms nor enough pupils on the campus to afford proper teaching experience for the practice teacher, and a contract was made with the local school board by which as many grades as were needed were put at the disposal of the University.<sup>60</sup> Tuition was free to residents of the district. Certain grades were taught in the training school building and others in the buildings owned by the town. The Model High School which had been quietly operating in an "underground" fashion since the official closing by the governor was discontinued and all high school work was done in the high school building on Ash Street where the University provided teachers for six classes. The city superintendent reviewed lesson plans and supervised the high school while supervision and direction of grade school work was conducted by the University. Teachers in the public schools co-operating in the training school program were given additional compensation by the University. All seemed to work well at first but in 1904 a disgruntled patron agitated for a change. When the local board refused to submit the question to a vote, he took matters into his own hands and called an election in which he received considerable backing and then proceeded through a series of injunctions and lawsuits until at last on April 18, 1906, the Illinois Supreme Court

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<sup>59</sup> Gov. John P. Altgeld to John W. Cook, Springfield, June 1, 1895, quoted in Proceedings of the Board of Education, Normal, June 19, 1895 (Springfield, 1895), 11; *Daily Pantagraph*, June 20, 21, 1895.

<sup>60</sup> Construction of additional facilities on campus was not justified because the low tuition rate of one dollar failed to bring in a sufficient number of pupils.

handed down the decision that the union was unlawful.

After June, 1906 nearly forty years elapsed before the University again made use of Normal public schools in its teacher training program and then it was only in limited and specialized subjects, such as art, music, and physical education. But the number of patrons who were pleased with the program of the early nineteen hundreds was sufficient that the training school of the University never again lacked for pupils.<sup>61</sup>

Through the years the town and the University served each other. Farmers moving to Normal to educate their children, built large houses and remained to rent rooms to students. A few operated eating clubs. Many of the townspeople came to be so dependent on the income from student lodgings, small though it was, that a protest arose every time dormitories were mentioned. To those who made a business of supplying students with room and board, the coming of the summer sessions in 1900 was a boon. In an era when there were no campus hang-outs and no fraternities, only the Philadelphian and Wrightonian societies, student loyalties came to center around their respective clubs. Generations of students remember with affection the Hitchcock Club, the Misses Shinn, the Jones, the Allen, the Birney, the Durham, and Mrs. Clark's O. N. T.

The townspeople were loyal, too. They tolerated the students' practical jokes, sometimes "down right enjoyed them." They purchased tickets to plays in Normal Hall and bought popcorn balls to help finance delegates to YW and YM conferences. They attended the annual society contests and commencements. They joined the throngs at the station to see the debate teams leave for the interstate contests and again to welcome them home, victor or vanquished as the case might be. Later they transferred their interest to sports and followed the Redbird teams.

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<sup>61</sup> *Trans. McLean Co. Hist. Soc.*, II: 96; David Felmley to Alfred Bayliss, Normal, May 1, 1906, Felmley Papers; *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Normal, June 6, 1906 (Springfield, 1907), 8-9.

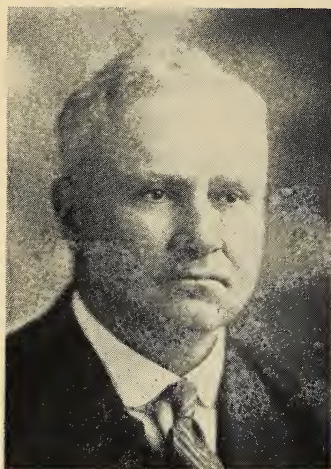
In 1913 the Women's Improvement League of Normal co-operated with the heirs of Jesse Fell in the erection of a gate at the east entrance to the campus as a memorial to that distinguished founder.

What went on at the city hall was of vital interest to the University: the civic improvements that were voted upon, the ordinances that were passed, from the rounding up of estrays to fines for hitching horses to shade trees, riding bicycles on sidewalks, dancing the shimmy, the toddle and the camel walk, street lighting, and police protection.<sup>62</sup> Occasionally a faculty member sat on the town council or the local school board. In 1889 the office of the president of the board of trustees, the equivalent of mayor, was made elective by popular vote. In 1891 Henry G. McCormick, professor of history, was elected president for a one-year term. When the panic of 1893 came and Schureman's bank in Normal failed, students, faculty, and townspeople lost their savings.<sup>63</sup> The project of a Society Hall to be built by popular subscription collapsed and it was sixty-three years before the dream of a Student Union building was realized.

In 1907 municipal affairs in the town were in a rut, expenditures were greater than income and the Normal Improvement Association, an organization of progressive citizens, began agitating for a council that would start the town on a new era. Orson L. Manchester, professor of economics, was put up for mayor. He was elected and with him as councilmen were A. J. Bill, O. R. Ernst, F. E. Putnam, Professor James Adams, and Professor F. D. Barber. The new administration tackled the problem of the old deficit which amounted to about \$14,000—approximately one year's municipal income from taxes. As soon as practicable and the voters agreed, the float-

<sup>62</sup> Section 2 of an amendment to the "Ordinance relative to Peddlers and Places of Amusement," enacted May 21, 1921, prohibits the dances known as the shimmy, the toddle, and the camel walk under a fine of not less than \$50 nor more than \$200 for each and every offense. "Ordinance Book," Town of Normal.

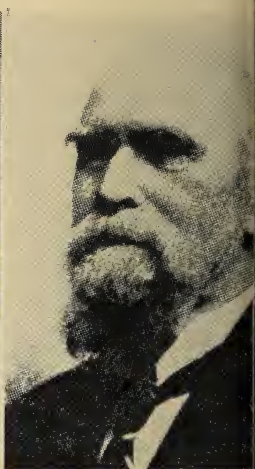
<sup>63</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Normal, Dec. 20, 1893 (Springfield, 1893), 12.



O. L. MANCHESTER



CLYDE W. HUDELSEN



HENRY MCCORMICK

*Three wearers of the gown who served as mayors of the town.*

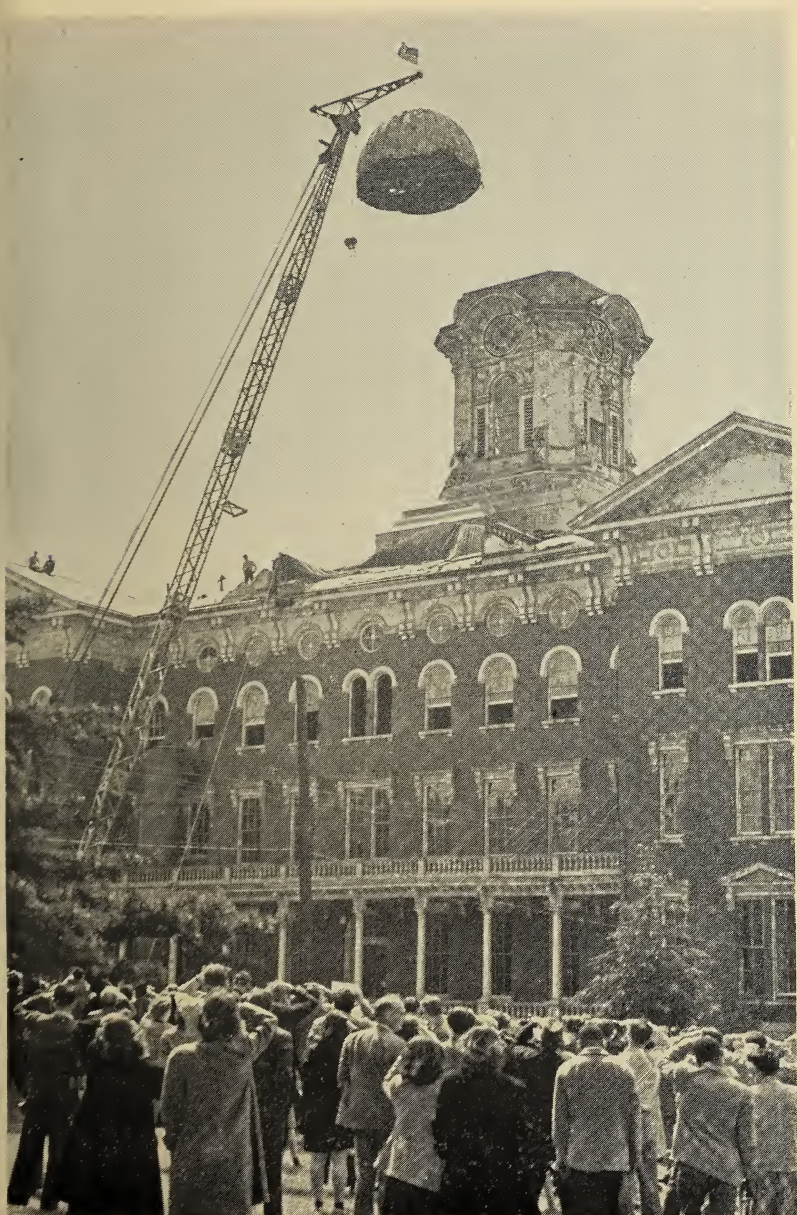
ing debt was converted into bonded indebtedness and in due time the bonds were paid off by increased assessments. The Manchester administration sought out properties that had escaped taxation and added to the city's income.

Manchester and his alert council also outlined a program of civic improvements, notably paving the principal streets of the city. Prior to this paving had been limited to blocks on North and Beaufort streets. The people had confidence in Professor Manchester and although they did not re-elect the same members to the council, they did re-elect him four times. In 1917 he declined to be a candidate. When he was elected for the last time in 1915, women voted for the first time and there was the largest vote ever cast. The citizens of Normal recognized the accomplishments: the "hoodoo" debt had been discharged, the town had pavements and sewers, and the water-works had been rebuilt.<sup>64</sup>

Although E. A. Turner, professor of education, Clyde W. Hudelson, head of the department of agriculture, and Dr. Rus-

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<sup>64</sup> *History of McLean County*, I: 142-43.



### OLD MAIN LOST ITS DOME IN MAY, 1946

The twenty-foot-high section is still on the campus—about four hundred feet south of its original site.

sell F. Glasener, professor of economics, served with distinction as members of the council through the years, it was 1944 before another faculty member came to the office of mayor. In the interim several staff members had been named to candidacy but the citizens of Normal, despite their pride in the University, were loath to have it said that their town was run "by the gown." At the polls they were more inclined to support local businessmen and "old-timers." When A. D. Cline who was elected to the office of mayor in March, 1944, died in June, Professor Hudelson, a member of the Board of Trustees was named to fill the unexpired term.

In 1946 he was elected to a two-year term as president of the Board of Trustees by popular vote. During Mayor Hudelson's administration, a dollar matching grant from the state facilitated the construction of a \$400,000 storm sewer which permitted further expansion of the University plant and that of the Illinois Soldiers and Sailors Children's School. A water softening plant was also installed and additional wells increased the town's water supply.<sup>65</sup>

The past thirty years, 1927-1957, have seen phenomenal changes in the town and the school; many of the old landmarks have passed, including the dome and the third floor of Old Main. The Dillon horse barns are gone. All but forgotten are the famous draft horses that once shared with the University the distinction of putting Normal and McLean County on the map. The business district, improved and modernized, has moved westward from the Illinois Central tracks. From a plant of only three buildings a half century ago, Normal University has expanded to a campus of twenty major buildings, exclusive of the farm and numerous temporary structures. When the University launched its great building program following World War II, it was necessary to buy several blocks of property west of the original campus.

The University no longer grants diplomas but Bachelor's

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<sup>65</sup> Interview with Clyde W. Hudelson, Normal, May 7, 1957.



### NORMAL'S OLD MAIN AFTER A CENTURY OF SERVICE

Although it lost its distinctive impressiveness along with its cupola and third story in May, 1946, Normal University's century-old first building is still in daily use—providing social science, mathematics, music and foreign languages classrooms. For a comparison with this 1957 picture see the front cover (photo taken in 1907) and pages 148 and 165.

and Master's degrees. More than three thousand students are currently preparing to be teachers. A high school and an elementary school with special provision for the handicapped afford opportunity for "practice" teaching. Although the University has five dormitories, one of which houses over four hundred students, it still looks to the townspeople for homes for many of them.

The town has grown from a population of fifty to 10,000 in a hundred years. It remains largely a residential community. Normal University is the town's biggest and best business. When the faculty and students are away, all is quiet and things are dull.

## THE SCHOOL EXTENDS ITS INFLUENCE

BY JOHN A. KINNEMAN

**A**N INSTITUTION, as Charles Horton Cooley wrote a half century ago, is merely "an established phase of the public mind." Its vitality is not unlike that of a vigorous and well-nurtured strawberry plant. Just as the fruiting stalk sends out its runners, so the institution extends its specialized influence in all directions—placing its graduates here, there, and everywhere in a widening circle—and exerting constructive control through their leadership.

Founded in 1857 and given financial support by the State of Illinois, the influence of the Illinois State Normal University has not been confined to the state's boundaries. It was not long after the college was established and the first class graduated, before Lyman B. Kellogg, of the class of 1864—a "raw and inexperienced youth," as Charles Harper<sup>1</sup> has characterized him—was selected to become the principal of the new normal school at Emporia, Kansas. Kellogg's selection was accompanied by authorization to secure an assistant principal. For this post he chose a fellow student, Henry B. Norton. Such influences radiated from Normal, and Professor Harper recorded the estimate that the college "may claim parenthood to at least thirty western schools."

By 1862 John W. Cook<sup>2</sup> had come to Normal as a student.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States* (Bloomington, 1935), 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 171-239; Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises* (Normal, 1956), 174-213.

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*John A. Kinneman is Chairman of the Department of Social Science at Illinois State Normal University.*

For almost four decades he acted in one capacity or another—eventually serving as president. Finally, in 1899, he left to become the first president of the Northern Illinois Normal School at DeKalb. While at Normal, Cook succeeded in attracting some distinguished and influential teachers, two of the most notable of whom were the McMurrys—Frank and Charles—and the latter accompanied him to DeKalb. Few persons in the United States have exercised greater influence in elementary education than have these brothers. Exactly a half century later, another professor at Normal—Leslie Holmes—was chosen to become the president at DeKalb.

During this productive interval of a century, graduates of Normal have taken important administrative posts. John Hull, 1860, as professor and later as president, was identified with the school that was to become Southern Illinois University at Carbondale from 1875 to 1893. Charles DeGarmo, who was graduated from the Normal University in 1873, went to the presidency of Swarthmore College in 1891 and served as the human link between Normal and the Quaker college near Philadelphia. Elmer Ellsworth Brown, 1881, after serving in various academic posts, concluded his professional work as chancellor of New York University. James E. Ament, 1892, before going to the presidency of the National Park Seminary in Washington, D. C., served as president of normal schools in Oklahoma, Missouri and Pennsylvania. Chester Lay, 1917, moved into the presidency at Carbondale for a time during the 1940's. R. G. Buzzard—a student at Normal, a teacher at DeKalb, and professor of geography at Normal—went, in 1933, to the presidency of the Eastern Illinois State Teachers College. John A. H. Keith, who started his academic career as a student at Normal, became in turn the principal of the Training School at Normal, the president of the Teachers College at Oshkosh, and the president of the Teachers College at Indiana, Pennsylvania. When an era of grave uncertainty prevailed in educational policies in the Keystone State, Keith

was appointed in 1927 by Governor John Fisher as State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

A dozen years after he left the presidency at Normal, Richard Edwards was elected Superintendent of Public Instruction in Illinois. Francis Blair, who served seven terms, 1907-1935, in this important post and Vernon Nickell, who was elected for four terms to this office, 1943-1959, had academic training on the campus at Normal.

Probably no one has exerted a more potent influence on the administration of education in Illinois than Richard Browne—the son of a professor of chemistry at Carbondale. He became a member of Normal's faculty in 1928 and later served as chairman of the Department of Social Science. During World War II he was on leave as director of the Illinois Legislative Council. On another occasion he served as executive secretary of the School Problems Commission. Since 1951 he has rendered notable service as the executive officer of the State Teachers College Board.

City superintendencies, in municipalities large and small in Illinois and in other states, have been filled by men who received some or all of their professional education at Normal. Also, during recent decades, graduates of the Illinois State Normal University have served as county superintendents of schools in many places in Illinois—among them the counties of Bureau, DeWitt, Grundy, Hancock, Kendall, Lake, Lawrence, McLean, Macon, Madison, Mason, Morgan, Peoria, Tazewell, and Woodford—to name but a few. Hundreds of high schools, large and small, and elementary schools in every corner of the state have had the benefit of recruiting personnel from Normal. Among other professional categories, these include principals, teachers, coaches, directors of guidance and personnel, psychologists, and teacher counselors.

If the students of the University High School were included among the persons of distinction who received their early education on the University campus, among those named

would be Adlai Stevenson, twice a presidential candidate, James Harvey Robinson, the distinguished historian at Columbia University, and Rachel Crothers, the noted playwright. Also, Walter Dill Scott, who concluded his professional career as president of Northwestern University, as well as Edmund James, who organized the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania and who served subsequently as president of the University of Illinois, would be included.

Many of the students of the Illinois State Normal University, with a singular devotion to learning, have given themselves to scholarly achievements and have attained high academic posts. Their determination for success emerged partly because they felt the impact of stimulating and conscientious teachers who were dedicated to their work. There have been many such teachers, each of whom gave decades of devoted service at Normal: John W. Cook, David Felmley, Henry McCormick, June Rose Colby, O. L. Manchester, Douglas Ridgley, Howard Adams, W. A. L. Beyer, and Charles Harper—to mention only a few. Furthermore, a number of the faculty members, over the years, have gone to other schools as presidents or to serve in other administrative positions.<sup>3</sup>

The general excellence of Normal's academic achievements is derived partly, too, from the fact that many of its students migrate from the farms and villages of the Prairie State. These graduates<sup>4</sup> comprise a long list of distinguished persons—a roster, indeed, too long and too varied for compilation. Only a few can be included. As a professor of history, Oliver M. Dickerson, 1899, held positions in turn at Macomb, at Winona and at Moorehead in Minnesota, be-

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<sup>3</sup> Some of these were Ira Moore, president of St. Cloud Normal (Minn.), and State Normal at San Jose, Calif.; L. H. Potter, president of Illinois Soldiers' College (Fulton, Ill.); J. A. Sewell, president of the University of Colorado; Lester Burrington, president of Dean Academy, Mass.; M. L. Seymour, vice-president of Chico State Normal, Calif.; and C. C. VanLiew, president of state normals at Chico and Los Angeles, Calif.

<sup>4</sup> These data have been secured from *The Normal School Quarterly*, 1860-1927 and from the records of the Alumni Office.

fore he moved to the Colorado Teachers College at Greeley. Walker Wyman, 1929, now a distinguished teacher of history in the Wisconsin State College at River Falls and author of *The Wild Horse of the West* and other notable books, left his father's farm in Vermilion County to matriculate at Normal. Maurice Graff, 1929, came from a farm in Tazewell County. He is the administrative assistant to the president of the Wisconsin State College at LaCrosse. Recently he served as an official visitor to the Normal campus for the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education. Abel Hanson, 1930, who has served as Superintendent of Schools at Carrollton, Illinois, at Elizabeth, New Jersey, and currently is acting as general secretary and administrative assistant at Columbia University, grew up amid the corn fields of Ford County. Harris Dean, 1929, who served for a time at Ball State Teachers College at Muncie, Indiana, and who is a professor at Florida State University, grew to maturity on his father's farm out in West Township, in McLean County. Thomas Barton, 1930, who taught geography for a time at Carbondale and is now at the University of Indiana, came from the black prairies of Livingston County. Lyle Dawson, 1928, has had a distinguished career as professor of chemistry at the University of Kentucky. Paul Kambly, 1930, who served on the staff of the State University of Iowa before he became supervisor of science education in Oregon, journeyed in from Iroquois County.

Another graduate, Samuel Powers, 1910, achieved distinction in the field of science education at Columbia University. Edward Buehrig, now professor of political science at the University of Indiana and author of *Woodrow Wilson and the Balance of Power*, came from the little high school at Minier which, over the years, has sent many excellent students to Normal. Another of the "boys" from Minier was Byron Barton, 1938, a teacher of geography at Charleston and currently consultant on conservation education in Illinois. Wayne

Dedman, 1937, a fine scholar and teacher of history in the New York State College at Brockport, came up to Normal from Mt. Zion in Macon County.

Others, too, have grown up within the shadows of the tower of the Main Building. Kenneth Pringle, 1924, whose father was principal of University High School, is a professor of English at Kent State University in Ohio. Katharine Turner, 1930, a daughter of the Director of the Training School, taught for a time in the State College at Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, and is now a professor at the Arizona State College at Tempe. Dr. Turner is not only the author of *Red Men Calling on the Great White Father* but her Ph. D. thesis dealt with the Normal poet—Richard Hovey—whose father was the first principal of the college. William Keefe, 1948, an instructor at the University of Alabama three years after his graduation at Normal, is teaching political science at Chatham College in Pittsburgh. John Keltner, 1940, is a professor of speech at the University of Oklahoma. Agnes Allen, 1924, whose father once directed the University Farm, has been teaching in the Arizona State College at Flagstaff. George Brinegar, 1940, the son of a late professor of psychology, is having a notable career as professor of economics at the University of Connecticut. Patricia Cross, 1948, the daughter of a beloved professor of physics, is an assistant dean of women at the University of Illinois. Her sister, Betty Cross LeBreton, 1949, has held teaching posts in economics at the Teachers College at Cedar Falls, Iowa, and at Detroit University.

Then there were the Stakers—William, 1940, and James, 1948—the sons of a late member of the department of education. The former is a research physicist while the latter is director of guidance and child study in South Orange, New Jersey. Philip Malmberg, one of the three sons of a late professor of psychology, is a research physicist with the Naval Research Laboratories. The son of the Ray Stombaugh—Thomas, 1941—is one of several Illinois State Normal Univer-

sity graduates who, at one time or another, have been on the teaching staff at the Southwest Missouri State College. Guenther Schmalz, 1935, whose German-born father gave dignity to the work of preserving the beauties of the campus, is a professor of languages at Ohio State University. Jane Blackburn, 1916, was one of several graduates of the college who had notable teaching careers at the Western Michigan College of Education at Kalamazoo. Her sister, Eunice, while directing the work of a mission school in Yucatan, has found time, again and again, to do substitute teaching at the Normal University.

Graduates of the Illinois State Normal University have distinguished themselves in higher education in all parts of the country—from the Plymouth (New Hampshire) Teachers College and the Bridgewater (Massachusetts) Teachers College to the state colleges at San Diego, Chico, San Francisco, and Sacramento in California; from the state colleges at Mt. Pleasant, Ypsilanti, and Kalamazoo in Michigan to similar institutions at Denton and at Nacogdoches in Texas; from Tallahassee, Florida and from Athens, Georgia, to the Dakotas, Montana, Washington, and Oregon; from Colorado and Kansas to Connecticut and New Jersey. Graduates of the Illinois State Normal University have held responsible posts at Carbondale, Charleston, DeKalb, Macomb, and Normal; at Mankato and Winona in Minnesota; at Springfield, at Cape Girardeau, and at Central College in Missouri; at Tempe and at Flagstaff in Arizona; at Emporia and at Pittsburg in Kansas; at Oshkosh, River Falls, Eau Claire, LaCrosse, Superior, and Whitewater in Wisconsin; at the state universities of Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

There are other colleges and universities—public and private—where the graduates of Normal have worked. William S. Gray, the distinguished authority in elementary education at the University of Chicago, was a graduate of Normal and,

for a short period, served as principal of the Training School. Fremont Wirth, 1914, a professor of history at George Peabody (Nashville, Tennessee), has exercised a comparable influence on the teaching of history in the public schools of the country. Jack Childress, 1941, has held important assignments at Northwestern University. Harrison Russell, 1920, and Keith Allen, 1925, spent years dispensing their geography materials at Bloomsburg and then at Shippensburg, in Pennsylvania.

The post-World War II period has seen an upsurge of Normal graduates going into enviable academic posts. Among them are three political scientists—Fred Spiegel, 1949, University of Missouri; Charles McCoy, 1948, Temple University; and Elston Roady, 1942, Florida State University—also a sociologist, John Zadrozny, 1944, University of Wisconsin. Glenn Bradshaw, 1947, whose "Dunes East of Gary" hangs in the lobby of the Student Union, is a member of the faculty of fine arts at the University of Illinois.

Many of Normal's graduates have strayed from the field of education. Some are active and successful in business enterprises. A few are engaged successfully in editing and publishing. Others have had careers in law, medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, and insurance. Still others have achieved more than a modest degree of success in social work—a profession closely allied to education.

Notable have been the achievements of some of Normal's graduates who have chosen journalism as a profession. Dale Etter, 1934, has held a responsible position on the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* for years. Charles Lane, 1936, after serving with the Associated Press in Chicago, in Rome and in Paris, is now chief of its bureau in New Delhi, India.

Normal has afforded thousands of young people an opportunity to learn what can and cannot be done academically. It has provided a kind of "proving ground" which serves as the initial station to even more distinguished achievements. At this important level it is certain to continue to function.

## *Normal University Centennial*

### A LIBRARY GROWS UP

BY ELEANOR WEIR WELCH

LIBRARIES had played their part in Charles E. Hovey's career before he arrived in Bloomington in the fall of 1857, so it was natural that he should be interested in seeing one established at the new Illinois State Normal University, of which he was the first president. As a student at Dartmouth he had had access to one of the oldest college libraries in New England. In Peoria, while he was busy in 1855 organizing its first free public school system, he found time to serve on the bylaws and regulations committee of the Mercantile Library Association which established the city's first library.<sup>1</sup> He must also have known of the libraries at Illinois Wesleyan, a mile away, and at neighboring Eureka, Monmouth, Knox, and the colleges in Jacksonville.<sup>2</sup> Yes, a library was a necessity if his students were to have the "benefits of intellectual culture"—as education was sometimes called.

What has become the present-day Milner Library at Normal was not created overnight, however, but was the result of many years of growth to which various factors contributed. One of the first of these was the establishment in June, 1858 of the Illinois Natural History Society which was attached to the new school so that the students would "each have an opportunity of studying the Natural History, not only of his

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<sup>1</sup> *Peoria Weekly Republican*, Nov. 23, 1855.

<sup>2</sup> United States Bureau of Education, *Public Libraries in the United States of America*, 1876, pp. 1026-31.

*Eleanor Weir Welch is Director of Libraries at Illinois State Normal University.*

own, but all other sections of Illinois."<sup>3</sup> Plans for the Normal building called for a large room on the third floor for the museum and library of the Society. This library contained Audubon's *Birds* and *Quadrupeds*, as well as the works of Agassiz, Humboldt, Cuvier, Say, Gray and other scientific writers of the day. By the late 1860's the collection was rated the third best west of the Alleghenies.<sup>4</sup> Some of the titles went to Urbana when the Natural History Survey was transferred to the University of Illinois in the late 1870's, but a number of the books are still in use at Milner Library.

Other collections of books were acquired that first year of the school's life. In President Hovey's report of July, 1858, to the State Board of Education, the governing body of Normal, he listed the books owned by the school. Under a joint resolution of Congress, on March 20, 1858, the University had been designated by Owen Lovejoy, congressman from the district, "as a suitable depository of the public documents." So the Adams Express Company delivered to the struggling school at its temporary quarters in Major's Hall the documents of the Thirty-fourth Congress, a total of 103 volumes.<sup>5</sup> Other public documents were given by Senators Stephen A. Douglas and Lyman Trumbull. The Civil War stopped the flow of federal publications to the school, and it was not until 1877 that Normal became a regular depository of selected government documents.<sup>6</sup>

To these first documents was added the "reference library" of thirty-two titles, including such standard works as Barnard's *Journal of Education*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Smith's

<sup>3</sup> "Illinois Natural History Society," *Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, for the Years 1857-58* (Springfield, 1859), 408-10.

<sup>4</sup> Charles A. Harper, "Illinois State Normal University Library," Ms in Milner Library.

<sup>5</sup> Charles E. Hovey, "Normal University Principal's Report," *Second Report of the Supt.*, 394.

<sup>6</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois*, Dec. 12, 1877, p. 12. The governing body of Normal University was the Board of Education, 1857-1917; from 1917 to 1941 it was the Normal School Board; and since then has been the Teachers College Board. (Cited hereafter as *Proceedings*.)

*Classical Dictionary*, Allibone's *Dictionary of English Authors*, Chambers' *Cyclopedia of English Literature*, Fowler's *English Language*, Putman's *Dictionary of Dates*, Liddell's *Greek Lexicon* and Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*. There were thirty-three copies of Lippincott's *Universal Gazetteer*.<sup>7</sup>

In the same report Hovey also listed the books the students really read—which belonged to the two literary societies. Following the pattern set in the Eastern colleges which the faculty had attended, the students formed in 1857-1858 the Philadelphian and Wrightonian societies. The latter was named for Simeon Wright, a member of the Board who was instrumental in having a set of Moore's district school libraries—sixty-three volumes—purchased for each society.<sup>8</sup> Their libraries were among the societies' chief points of rivalry and when Wright gave additional books from his own library to the Wrightonians, the Philadelphians appealed to Mrs. Hovey who headed a campaign for books for them. Shelved in the society rooms on the third floor of Old Main, Normal's original building, the society libraries were apart from the locked cases of the regular college collection and were more easily accessible.<sup>9</sup> Here were Longfellow's poems, the Waverley novels, Weems's *Life of Penn*, *Don Quixote*, and the works of Irving, Hawthorne, Franklin and Shakespeare. These were the books that opened new worlds to the first students from the villages and farms of the prairie. In case more practical titles were needed, the students found here *The Family Dentist*, Buist's *Family Kitchen Garden* and Guénon's *On Milch Cows*. For those who did their own cooking, as many did, the *Handbook of Household Science* and Youman's *Domestic Economy* were useful, while the *Guide to Politeness* helped a young man make his first call and taught him how to escort a young lady properly to a soirée.

<sup>7</sup> Hovey, "Principal's Report," *Second Report of the Supt.*, 394-95.

<sup>8</sup> John W. Cook and James V. McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University* (Normal, 1882), 112, 123.

<sup>9</sup> Hovey, "Principal's Report," *Second Report of the Supt.*, 392.

In 1863 the Philadelphians staged an exhibition in Phoenix Hall, Bloomington, to raise funds for their library and pay the librarian a small salary.<sup>10</sup> At this time a catalog of the 856 titles in the two societies' holdings was printed and sold to members for 25c a copy. The rules were the same for each society. The librarian, an elected officer, was required to keep a catalog of the collection and open the library regularly once a week and during a recess at each regular meeting. Books were charged out for two weeks; a fine of ten cents for each week a book was overdue was to be collected by the librarian and turned over to the treasurer. For any injury to a book there was also to be a fine, and in case fines were not paid the member was denied all privileges. Only members were allowed to use the collections.<sup>11</sup>

While the school grew rapidly in numbers of students and faculty, its book collections were struggling and weak. It was the day of the textbook and "oral instruction." In December, 1864, President Edwards reported the addition of three hundred titles—the first additions since the Civil War began—increasing the reference library to 450 books. The President commented that he had "an unexpended balance . . . but the high prices that have of late prevailed have deterred us from making purchases, particularly as the books we are anxious to get would have to be imported."<sup>12</sup> For this collection bookcases were put up along the east hall of the second floor.

In 1872 Edwards again reported the purchase of books to the value of \$417.21, subject to the approval of the Board:

The purchase was made of Messrs. Hadley Bros., Chicago, and the terms are very favorable to the institution. For our guidance in selecting proper books, I procured the catalogue of a library that seemed to me exceedingly well chosen; and at a meeting of the entire faculty, every book in the cata-

<sup>10</sup> Cook and McHugh, *History of Normal*, 112.

<sup>11</sup> Philadelphia Society, *Constitution and Catalogue* (n.p., n.d.); Wrightonian Society, *Constitution and Catalogue* (n.p., n.d.).

<sup>12</sup> Richard Edwards, "Report of the Board of Education," *Fifth Report of the Supt.* (Springfield, 1865), 43.

logue was passed upon. Many were thrown out as not fit or not needed, and others were added. The list thus made up was given to the Messrs. Hadley, and something more than half of the selected books have been furnished for the sum mentioned above. I am sure we could not have done better, if as well, in New-York City.

Some years since, a copy of Rees's *Encyclopaedia* was purchased in Boston for a very small sum. The volumes greatly need binding, and if it meets the views of the Board I will have it done. This encyclopaedia contains much useful information. Its chief drawback is that it was published forty or fifty years ago.<sup>13</sup>

Evidently he had the faithful encyclopedia bound, for in June of the next year \$69.20 was reported as paid to Amos Hemp for bookbinding. The reference library now numbered 1,021 volumes, and again new bookcases were necessary. The library was in constant use, and to prevent loss it was necessary to have a student librarian present whenever it was open. An appropriation of \$100 was asked—\$50 a year for the chief librarian, who was responsible for the care of the books, and \$5 per term for each of three assistant librarians to be on duty when the chief librarian was in class. The library was to be open four hours a day. The charging system was simple: the student wrote his name in a blank book, and the librarian wrote opposite it the title of the book desired.<sup>14</sup>

Year after year the college catalog stated: "The University library is excellent in character and contains 1,000 volumes of valuable standard books. Additions are made from time to time." That these additions were very few, however, is shown by reports of the Board; President Hewett stated in December, 1878, "Our library has not been enlarged for want of funds. . . . I hope we may spend some money during the next half year."<sup>15</sup> In 1880 he asked for \$300 to \$500 to be spent for library books in the East that summer.<sup>16</sup>

Letters and articles mention not only the "reference li-

<sup>13</sup> *Proceedings*, Dec. 3, 1872, pp. 4-5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, June 25, 1873, p. 6.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1878, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, May 26, 1880, p. 8.

brary" and the two society libraries but also a "historical library," a "pedagogical library" and a "primary library." It is not known exactly what these were, where they were kept or how many volumes they contained. They were probably classroom collections tucked away in the back of a recitation room for use by the teacher and the members of the class. Many may have been the instructors' own property.

In September, 1880, the Wrightonians asked that the two society libraries be united in a convenient room and that the Board appoint a librarian to be on duty half of each day. The Board did not approve, possibly because there was no room available.<sup>17</sup> As usual Normal was outgrowing its clothes. Yet, annually, President Hewett reported: "The students are making more and better use of the library. I am constantly adding to our books but am not buying a great quantity at any one time. I think the increase is better that way."<sup>18</sup> Was this rationalization because of lack of interest on the Board's part as well as lack of funds?

But the President was forced to do something about the library. The students asked for an organized collection of books. The *Vidette*, the student paper, begun in the spring of 1888, asked "What should I read and where?"<sup>19</sup> Faculty members were reading in pedagogical magazines and in the better general magazines of the day about the advantages to student and teacher of an organized college library. A new day was dawning in education. Emphasis was upon building up an "apperceptive mass" by wide reading.

There was, beginning in the late 1880's, a remarkable production of new books on teaching methods. Members of the Normal faculty were writing some of them. Charles DeGarmo, Frank and Charles McMurry, and others were coming back from study in Europe where they had had access to fine libraries. Illinois State Normal University was beginning

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1881, p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, June 22, 1887, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> *Vidette*, March, 1888.

to be the center of the new Herbartian movement. So in May, 1889, President Hewett suggested to the Board that a permanent librarian be employed "to make the books accessible at all times and to help the students."<sup>20</sup> Again in December he repeated that "a catalogue should be made by a competent person."<sup>21</sup>

This resulted in the employment of Miss Angeline V. Milner as librarian in February, 1890.<sup>22</sup> Miss Milner was a native of Bloomington, born in 1856. Her father had come from Philadelphia as a child and had made his way with the help of a brother-in-law who took him into the firm of Holder & Milner. Ange.'s mother never forgot that she had been a governess in Boston. To her Bloomington was always a western town. Her children were taught at home or sent to private schools.

It was because of the family friendship with the Fells and the family of Stephen A. Forbes (then head of the Natural History Society at Normal) that Ange. was allowed to attend classes in biology at Normal in the summers of 1875 and 1878.<sup>23</sup> She was deeply interested and added books on science to her reading on literature, art and history to which her mother had introduced her. In the late summer of 1880, Forbes asked Miss Milner to mount botanical specimens for the Natural History Museum. She enjoyed the work, and when she finished he asked her to catalog the scientific books. To help her he had the 1876 Bureau of Education's *Public Libraries in the United States of America*.

This volume was to be Miss Milner's professional bible, her inspiration and her textbook of method. For here C. A. Cutter, Melvil Dewey and Stephen B. Noyes discussed catalogs and cataloging; Otis H. Robinson of the University of Rochester, Justin Winsor of Harvard and F. B. Perkins of

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<sup>20</sup> *Proceedings*, June 25, 1889, p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1889, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, June 25, 1890, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Samuel Holder, Bloomington, March 19, 1957.



898 THE NORMAL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY WAS IN THIS "AIRY ROOM WITH A GOOD NORTH LIGHT."

Boston wrote of the college library, its administration and, more important, its place in the college as a whole. The idea that there should be a "professorship of books" took her imagination; twelve years later it was to result in instruction in the use of books and libraries at Normal University.

In the late fall of 1889 the two literary societies again offered their libraries to the school. Now the Board was willing to employ a librarian. Miss Fannie Fell, then on the faculty, and Forbes urged Miss Milner's appointment. A postcard from President Hewett told Miss Milner the school was ready and asked when she could start work. Her answer was that she could begin the next Monday, February 1, 1890.<sup>24</sup>

In June the President reported that Miss Milner had begun arranging, classifying and cataloging the library. The catalog would not be printed but in the form of the "new card catalog." However, he had not followed the Board's suggestion of housing the library in the first-floor reception room because: "First we need this room very much, second this room is badly lighted for library use."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Charles W. Perry, "Angeline Vernon Milner," *Normal University Alumni Quarterly*, May, 1924, pp. 2-10.

<sup>25</sup> *Proceedings*, June 25, 1890, p. 9.

Under Professor John W. Cook, who took over the presidency of the University in the fall of 1890, the college library had its true beginning. He promptly turned the reception room on the southwest of the entrance to Old Main into a library of 4,000 books. A "light balcony" was built around the room with a stairway leading to it. This pleasant room opening onto the piazza was a change from the narrow hall off the assembly room on the second floor that had housed the "reference library" and from the "circulating library" in the President's outer office.<sup>26</sup> Here were all the books collected from everywhere, arranged by the decimal classification. The temporary catalog had subject cards. There were "much used" current periodicals, maps, and portfolios of pictures. Student librarians "did much to make the books of use." The room was open eight hours a day, five days a week. But more books were needed in every field. From 1890 on there were annual appropriations.

Miss Milner's appointment was made permanent at \$500 a year.<sup>27</sup> The choice could not have been better. While she had no formal college or professional training, she was a widely read, intelligent, open-minded woman with a vision of the place of books in higher education. To her, scholarship was both the cause and result of the book.

She started her work with only the library training Forbes and Mrs. Hannah R. Galliner of the Bloomington Public Library had given her, but she studied endlessly. She began in 1890 to take and study the *Library Journal* with its articles on library methods by the leaders of the profession. She attended meetings of librarians. In those days American Library Association meetings were small, but such giants as Dewey, Cutter, Winsor and William F. Poole shared their vision and their methods generously. They were missionaries of the profession.

<sup>26</sup> *Index* (Illinois State Normal University yearbook), 1892, p. 67. *Proceedings*, Dec. 10, 1890, pp. 23-24.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, June 24, 1891, p. 15.

In the summer of 1893 Miss Milner "worked the hardest I have ever worked" at the library institute attached to the Columbian Exposition.<sup>28</sup> In 1896 she was among the librarians of the state who organized the Illinois Library Association at Armour Institute in Chicago,<sup>29</sup> and that fall she was in Springfield on the committee to organize a state library commission<sup>30</sup> and to make plans for a library section of the State Teachers Association.

Governor John P. Altgeld disapproved plans drawn in 1895 for a new building to house the literary societies and the library, saying, "A library should be in fireproof rooms." "The students cannot help agreeing . . .," said the *Vidette*, "when we consider the value of our library."<sup>31</sup> The *Vidette* had in each issue articles on books, on the value of school libraries, on the need to observe the Illinois law making school libraries mandatory, and on Miss Milner's activities—her talks at school institutes and her work in the establishment of a state library association.<sup>32</sup>

In 1892 Miss Milner began instruction in the use of the library, "for it is the aim of both teachers and librarians to help the students to cultivate a familiarity with good literature and with the use of books, and to give them the best possible assistance in doing their reference



MISS ANGE V. MILNER

Her dream of a "professorship of books" came true.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Mrs. Gertrude Andrews Plotnicky, Normal, March 21, 1957.

<sup>29</sup> *Illinois Library Association, Fiftieth Anniversary* (Springfield, Oct., 1946), 6.

<sup>30</sup> *Bloomington* (Illinois) *Leader*, Nov. 24, 1896.

<sup>31</sup> *Vidette*, Oct., 1895.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, March-April, 1899.

work" so that in turn they could train others.<sup>33</sup> Her "professorship of books" was coming true. Illinois State Normal University was among the first half-dozen teacher training institutions to offer such instruction.

By 1899 Miss Milner was speaking before National Education Association sessions and at library meetings on the need for such classes. Five years later a pamphlet which she wrote, *Formation and Care of School Libraries*, was having wide use. The course, at first optional, was now required and other courses on the formation and care of school libraries were offered.<sup>34</sup> With an annual appropriation, a trained assistant and student help, the library rapidly took a prominent place on the campus. Its modern approach became known throughout the country.

When the third building on the campus was built, the library, having outgrown the old reception room, was moved to the third floor above the gymnasium. The students were proud of this building, built of gray limestone from the same quarry as the Vanderbilts' Biltmore castle in North Carolina,<sup>35</sup> and there was discussion as to whether it should be called Library or Gymnasium (Gymnasium won).<sup>36</sup> Even electric lights, however, did not make up for lack of space and the library was to make two more moves.<sup>37</sup>

In 1913 the legislature appropriated \$12,000 to convert the training school building (now North Hall) into a university library. Stacks to hold 60,000 books were built and the entire second floor, 84 by 88 feet, was a reading room with wall shelving<sup>38</sup> and a miscellaneous collection of tables and chairs. In the new quarters there was space to add 600 to 1,000 volumes annually. Children's books were bought for

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<sup>33</sup> Illinois State Normal University, *Catalogue*, 1892, p. 90.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 1906, p. 64.

<sup>35</sup> Charles L. Capen, "A Sketch of the Illinois Normal University," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society* (Bloomington, 1903), II: 179.

<sup>36</sup> *Bloomington Pantagraph*, July 23, 1924.

<sup>37</sup> *Index*, 1902, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> *Vidette*, Feb. 19, Nov. 26, 1913.

the laboratory schools. Classroom deposits were sent to the Metcalf School under the guidance of Miss Edna Kelly. Mrs. Gertrude Andrews Plotnicky became a member of the staff. Audio-visual service was begun with a collection of 2,856 pictures, 1,468 slides and 835 stereographs.<sup>39</sup>

The headline in the *Bloomington Pantagraph* of January 14, 1928, "Angeline V. Milner is dead" was a blow to students, faculty and alumni. "Blessed is the man who has found his work. Let him ask no other blessedness."<sup>40</sup> Miss Milner found her work. Frail and slight, she followed with devotion her purpose of bringing books and the ideas in them to the students who would become teachers in Illinois. Today wherever older alumni meet she is spoken of with affection and gratitude.

In the fall of 1929 Eleanor Welch was appointed librarian. The library continued to grow. No longer did the President check each book order, questioning the cost and the title's use in specific classes. Book selection rested with the faculty and the library staff. What was good was bought. By 1935 students were crowding the library, sitting on the window sills and stairs. Books were piled in every possible place; all library work with faculty and students was done in one room and over one desk. No longer could the service to the laboratory schools be handled from the University library—a special library under a special librarian was set up in the former science rooms of the Thomas Metcalf Training School.<sup>41</sup>

The present library, named for Miss Milner,<sup>42</sup> was built with the federal government furnishing \$270,000 of the \$500,000 total through a Public Works Administration grant.<sup>43</sup> To come within the time requirements the basement was completed in March, 1939, then work stopped three months while

<sup>39</sup> Ange. V. Milner, unpublished MS, 1914, in Milner Library.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (New York, 1927), Book III, 205.

<sup>41</sup> R. W. Fairchild, "Illinois State Normal University Report," *Proceedings*, Oct. 7, 1935, p. 140.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, June 19, 1939, p. 119.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, June 20, 1938, p. 91.



PRESENT-DAY MILNER LIBRARY REFERENCE ROOM.

the state architect worked on Chicago's Humboldt Park Armory.<sup>44</sup> That spring was rainy and the basement made a lake for the plank boats of neighborhood children. From June of that year work progressed rapidly. The library was dedicated at the 1940 commencement and summer school saw it in full use. In the new building there was room for specialized services for the students. A trained library staff of nine and a larger book collection with adequate space more than doubled student use. The library became a true college li-

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, May 26, 1939, pp. 88-89.

brary. While it proved to be the least expensive of the state's "new" college libraries, its influence in the use of color and design and its special services have been felt throughout the colleges of the Midwest.

The beginning of graduate work on the campus in 1945 necessitated the building of a more scholarly collection of materials. The library has grown to 178,000 volumes, outstanding in the field of education with adequate working collections in other fields. Three laboratory school libraries have been established. Library science has become a minor teaching field. The single course of 1892 has expanded to offerings for the training of school librarians for elementary, high school and unit district libraries.<sup>45</sup> The "Friends of Milner Library" have brought the library into the life of the community and have made gifts to it of books and manuscripts it could not otherwise have had.

In 1957 Milner Library is again in need of space. Even the use of microfilm and microcards cannot contain it within its present walls. How large should it be? Big enough to give significance, reach and inspiration to the classroom! For within its walls "books are the quietest and most constant of friends; they are the most accessible and wisest of counsellors, and the most patient of teachers."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> *Catalog, 1956-1957*, pp. 142-144.

<sup>46</sup> Charles W. Eliot, "Happy Life," *American Contributions to Civilization* (New York, 1907), 261.

## SPECIAL EDUCATION—THEN AND NOW

BY THEODORE SANDS AND ROSE E. PARKER

ELLEN, age fourteen, was in deep psychological trouble. She was faced with sure failure in her high school work, and the thought was unbearable. Psychological examination revealed that Ellen had a mental age of seven years, two months. Achievement tests showed generally low marks. Ellen, probably because of some proficiency in language, had been "passed along" through eight elementary grades. In high school, confronted with more competition and a relatively unsympathetic environment, she had experienced a real psychological crisis.

But Ellen, thanks to the special education facilities at Illinois State Normal University, was soon on the road to adjustment. She was placed in a special class for the educable mentally handicapped where the work was within her grasp, and as a result her emotional and psychological tensions began to disappear.<sup>1</sup>

Ellen is but one of several categories of non-typical children who receive special attention and special help in the Illinois schools. Others are (1) deaf or hard of hearing, (2) partially sighted or blind, (3) physically handicapped, (4) defective in speech, or (5) maladjusted. These children are considered "exceptional" because physical, mental, and

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<sup>1</sup> Stanley S. Marzolf, "The Psychological Counseling Service," *Illinois State Normal University Bulletin: Hearing, Psychological, Reading, and Speech Service at Illinois State Normal University* (Sept., 1954), 22.

*Dr. Theodore Sands is a member of the Department of Social Science and Dr. Rose E. Parker is Director of the Division of Special Education at Illinois State Normal University.*

emotional conditions prevent them from benefiting from the usual school situations. Approximately ten to fifteen per cent of all children of school age require something in addition to the usual school work or something different from it.<sup>2</sup> Teachers specifically trained to work with exceptional children are called "special teachers" and their training is known as "special education."

Illinois had early recognized the need for special educational facilities for some of its exceptional children. As long ago as 1839, the legislature passed an act authorizing the establishment of a school for deaf children, and in 1846, the Illinois School for the Deaf was opened. In 1849, the Illinois Braille and Sight Saving School was established at Jacksonville. The Lincoln State School and Colony for the mentally deficient and epileptic was opened in 1865. The Illinois Constitution of 1870, says: "The General Assembly shall provide a thorough and efficient system of free schools whereby all children of this State may receive a good common school education."<sup>3</sup> It further states that school boards shall secure for children of school age the right to an equal opportunity in the schools. This has been interpreted to mean that those children who cannot benefit from the usual schoolroom situation should be provided with educational facilities to meet their special needs.

By the end of the nineteenth century the efficacy of relying solely on special institutional training was beginning to be questioned. Institutional care obviously could be provided for only a small portion of the total number of exceptional children. The first attempts to try to provide for the special educational needs of these children in the public schools were undertaken in Chicago—in 1899, the Board of Education established a class for the education of crippled children.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Rose E. Parker, "The Professional Preparation of Special Teachers," *Teacher Education* (Dec., 1955), 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Constitution of the State of Illinois*, Article VIII, Education, Paragraph 1.

<sup>4</sup> Chicago Board of Education, *Special Education in the Chicago Public Schools* (Chicago, 1950), 13.

The first day-school for the blind in the United States was organized in Chicago in 1900 by John B. Curtis.<sup>5</sup> In 1905, classes for the deaf and hard of hearing were established. Chicago also had one of the earliest public school speech correction programs in the nation (1910).<sup>6</sup> In 1929, special education facilities were opened for the socially maladjusted at the Montefiore School.<sup>7</sup>

By 1911 it was recognized by the state legislature that if *all* children were to have an equal opportunity for schooling it would be necessary to provide for the special needs of exceptional children in the public school systems. The acceptance of this philosophy underlay the act of 1911 which authorized school boards to establish schools and classes for truant, delinquent, and incorrigible children.<sup>8</sup> In 1923 this philosophy was extended by enabling legislation for the establishment of special schools and classes for crippled children. This act, amended several times, has been broadened from crippled to *physically handicapped* children.<sup>9</sup>

In 1929 the first legislation providing special educational facilities for the blind or partially seeing and the deaf or hard of hearing was passed.<sup>10</sup> Finally with the passage of legislation in 1943 covering the physically handicapped, the educable mentally handicapped and the speech defective, Illinois had a legislative foundation making it possible to provide for the education of the largest categories of exceptional children.<sup>11</sup>

The public philosophy of bringing education to exceptional children has gone beyond the stage of merely authorizing special schools and classes. There has been a recognition of the necessity of providing special financial aid. The costs

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>8</sup> Lawrence J. Linck, "The Education of Exceptional Children in Illinois," *Illinois State Normal University Bulletin* (July, 1944), 11.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12.

<sup>11</sup> Ray Graham, "History of Special Education in Illinois," in *Special Education Building Dedication*, a brochure, (Normal, 1951), 4-5.



### HANDICAPPED CHILDREN REQUIRE SPECIAL TEACHERS

Training for teachers of the physically handicapped is one of six specialized fields now offered students at Illinois State Normal University.

of educating exceptional children are greater than those for normal children, and the state has assumed responsibility within reasonable limits for these excess costs.<sup>12</sup>

Comprehensive though this legislation was, there remained much yet to be done. In 1943, special education services were furnished by Illinois public school districts to 16,323 children. Of these 15,298 were in Chicago; the remaining 1,025 were scattered throughout the state.<sup>13</sup> It was estimated

<sup>12</sup> *Illinois State Normal University Bulletin*, July, 1944, p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

that there were a minimum of 46,500 children in need of special education, and possibly as many as 110,450.<sup>14</sup>

The attack on this problem was undertaken at several levels. First was a growing awareness among both the specialized agencies and the general public of the magnitude and nature of the problem. Public and professional interest had been stimulated by the special committee of the White House Conference which had been appointed to consider the education of "exceptional children."<sup>15</sup> In Illinois, promotional and informational work had been done by the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness, the Cerebral Palsy Association of Illinois, Inc., the Illinois Association for the Crippled, Inc., the Division of Youth and Community Service, and the Illinois Commission for Handicapped Children.<sup>16</sup>

Further impetus to the cause was given by the calling of the first Governor's Conference on Exceptional Children in 1942. The conference was called by Governor Dwight H. Green to "further public understanding of the problem of these children, the resources and facilities available to meet the problem, and the needs of such children which remain unmet."<sup>17</sup> The conference received excellent press coverage with stories pointing up the unmet needs of the state's exceptional children.<sup>18</sup> The participants in the conference established a priority list of needed legislation and reported their decisions and recommendations back to the Commission for Handicapped Children, which undertook "follow-up responsibilities for the items which it approved."<sup>19</sup> To assist in this follow-up effort, a Citizen's Committee on Legislation was formed.<sup>20</sup> In

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Isabella Dolton, "Know Your Schools," MS in the papers of the author, Rose E. Parker, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Illinois Commission for Handicapped Children, *Facilities in the State for Handicapped Children* (Chicago, 1951), 8-9.

<sup>17</sup> Lawrence J. Linck, "Overview of the Conference," *Proceedings of the Governor's Conference on Exceptional Children* (Chicago, 1942), 5.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

<sup>19</sup> Mrs. Walter M. Rennie, "Legislation for Exceptional Children," *Proceedings of the Second Annual Governor's Conference on Exceptional Children* (Chicago, 1943), 9.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

1949, the P.-T. A. was brought into the effort with the establishment of the Illinois plan of Parent Information-Parent Education-Parent Participation. Through this plan the Division of Exceptional Children of the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers and the State Office of Public Instruction joined forces to inform every local community in Illinois about the needs of exceptional children.<sup>21</sup> These efforts soon got results. The General Assembly since 1943 has passed legislation to further the effort to provide special education to exceptional children.<sup>22</sup> The appropriations, too, have kept pace with the growth of the program. In 1941-1943 the appropriation was \$1,717,500 for special education purposes. In 1954-1955 the sum had grown to \$11,950,000.<sup>23</sup>

This alone, however, did not solve the problem. One additional and critical element was needed before the comprehensive program outlined in state legislation could be instituted: teachers to man the special classes that the state was encouraging the local boards to establish. It was to Illinois State Normal University that the state turned to supply this lack.

On January 16, 1943, Irving F. Pearson, Executive Secretary of the Illinois Education Association, had written President Raymond W. Fairchild that the Illinois Commission for Handicapped Children, Director Rodney H. Brandon of the Illinois Welfare Department, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Vernon L. Nickell, the I. E. A., and "a host of others" were interested in providing training for teachers and prospective teachers of exceptional children.<sup>24</sup> In September, 1943, President Fairchild brought the matter to the attention of the Teachers College Board. The Board sensed the importance of meeting the need for special teachers and author-

<sup>21</sup> Irene K. Rowland, "Illinois P. T. A. Plan Helps All Parents to Understand Exceptional Children," *Public Aid in Illinois* (Feb., 1952), 9.

<sup>22</sup> Ray Graham, letter, Mar. 28, 1957, to Theodore Sands.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Irving F. Pearson to R. W. Fairchild, Jan. 16, 1943; cited by Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises* (Normal, 1956), 310.

ized the establishment of a Division of Special Education at Normal University. The designation of Normal University as the school to undertake this task was the result of a number of factors. The school was centrally located and accessible to the state schools at Lincoln and Jacksonville which might serve as laboratory centers for a training program. The University offered work in all phases of elementary and secondary education and drew students from the entire state of Illinois.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, Normal University was already offering some courses in the field of special education. Dr. Rose Parker, who was appointed director of the new Division, had, since 1932, been teaching "The Psychology of the Maladjusted School Child" and "Diagnosis and Remedial Teaching." Dr. Parker and Dr. Chris DeYoung, then head of the Education Department, had organized courses in "Behavior Problems in the Elementary Schools" and "The Education of Exceptional Children."<sup>26</sup>

It was felt that a training program for special teachers could not be developed adequately at several universities.<sup>27</sup> Normal University, having the advantage of the factors mentioned above, became the sole state-supported teachers' college commissioned to educate teachers for all types of handicapped children.<sup>28</sup> Immediately after the authorization to set up the Division the University attacked the problems of organization and curriculum. Specialists on the campus joined with eminent authorities in the various phases of special education to draw up curricula in the fields of the mentally retarded, socially maladjusted, the unusually gifted and the physically handicapped. Lawrence J. Linck, executive secretary of the Illinois Commission for Handicapped Children, Ray Graham, Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction

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<sup>25</sup> Illinois Teachers College Board, *Proceedings* (Feb., 1945), 51.

<sup>26</sup> Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, 311.

<sup>27</sup> Graham, "History of Special Education," 5.

<sup>28</sup> R. W. Fairchild, "Handicapped Children in Illinois: The Need for Their Education and Provision for Such Education" (Normal, 1945), 2. Mimeographed.

in charge of Special Education, and Edward H. Stullken, secretary of the Commission for Handicapped Children and principal of the Montefiore Special School in Chicago, gave the benefit of their practical experience to those working on the curricula.<sup>29</sup>

After a year of intensive work, curricula necessary for the education of teachers for the mentally retarded, partially sighted, deaf, crippled, and speech defective children were completed, and formal instruction began in the summer session of 1944.<sup>30</sup> A year of graduate work leading to a degree of Master of Science in Special Education was added in 1945.<sup>31</sup>

Beginning with a modest enrollment of three students majoring in special education in 1945 (two of whom soon left their chosen careers for housewifery), the Division has steadily grown. In 1948, there were eighty-one students enrolled in special education; in 1950, the number had risen to one hundred fifty-four. Enrollment in January, 1957, was two hundred fifty.

Despite this very rapid growth in enrollment, the supply of special teachers lagged far behind the demand. The State Department of Public Instruction was under constant and increasing pressure from medical, social, and welfare agencies, including hospital-schools and institutions, to expand the program of special education in the state. This, however, could not be done without an increase in trained teachers. State Director of Education of Exceptional Children Ray Graham reported in June, 1917, that he had 119 requests for special teachers to fill vacant positions and there was an uncalculable number of teachers needed for special rooms for which there were funds available, but no teachers. In 1946, approximately 30,000 children had received some type of special education. Of these 10,000 were in downstate Illinois. However, it was estimated in 1947 that over 105,000

<sup>29</sup> Teachers College Board, *Proceedings*, Dec. 8, 1943, p. 278.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, April 3, 1944, p. 45.

<sup>31</sup> Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, 312.

children<sup>32</sup> in need of special education were not receiving it. The bottle-neck and greatest obstacle to meeting this need was the inability of school boards to find qualified teachers.<sup>33</sup>

In filling this need the University found itself operating under two severe handicaps: the inability to hire specialists in the various fields of special education because of the University's inability to meet the salary scale prevailing in these specialties,<sup>34</sup> and the lack of the necessary physical facilities for a training program in special education.<sup>35</sup> President Fairchild in 1945 pointed out that the legislation encouraging the establishment of special rooms in the public schools had created such a demand for special teachers that "an emergency situation" existed. He asked that priority be given to the construction of a building which would be specially designed to take care of the needs of exceptional children and to provide facilities for the training of student teachers.<sup>36</sup>

The General Assembly in 1945 responded with an appropriation of \$976,000 for a Special Education building. This sum, however, was found to be insufficient for the type of structure needed, and two years later the legislature reappropriated the original sum and added to it funds originally allocated to other buildings at Normal. This made \$1,900,000 available for a training center in special education. Rising costs required an appropriation of an additional \$955,000 in 1949.<sup>37</sup>

Ground was broken for the new building in 1948. The historic importance of the occasion was noted by those participating in the exercises. Ray Graham, State Director of Education of Exceptional Children, paid tribute to the humani-

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<sup>32</sup> This was estimated at 200,000 children in 1955 in *The Nature of the School Population in the State of Illinois*, Robert G. Bone, R. Stewart Jones, and others (Illinois Curriculum Program Bulletin No. 24, June, 1955), 39-43.

<sup>33</sup> Memorandum from Dr. Rose E. Parker to R. W. Fairchild, June 6, 1947, Fairchild Papers (MSS, Milner Library).

<sup>34</sup> Teachers College Board, *Proceedings*, April 22, 1946, p. 136.

<sup>35</sup> Fairchild, "Handicapped Children," 10.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>37</sup> Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, 312.

tarian and enlightened spirit of the people of Illinois that made the program possible:

On this site is to be housed the first teacher training program of any state or nation where the entire job of training special teachers of all types of deviate children has ever been planned.

It is the result of a progressive and enlightened viewpoint of the responsibility of a democratic government. For too long we have been spending millions of dollars annually in custodial care and pensions for those whose opportunity has been blighted by handicap. We have forgotten that a large proportion of these people could have been prepared for useful and productive life at a very small comparative cost had properly prepared teachers been available when in the plastic and developmental stages of youth.

From the building to be erected here shall come trained people to meet the educational phase of this task. Illinois State Normal University is today assuming national leadership.

Today the schools of Illinois are calling for 1,000 trained speech correctionists, 1,000 trained teachers of the mentally retarded, 1,000 trained remedial reading teachers, and hundreds of others for the crippled, the deaf and the blind.

This call has been heard by the citizenry of this state made articulate through the action of the General Assembly and the signature of the Governor. The Teachers College Board has accepted the assignment. And this university has taken up the torch.<sup>38</sup>

In March, 1951, the new building was dedicated. In the block-long, three-story structure of red brick and white stone, the University and the state had the most modern and complete plant in the nation for the training of special education teachers. Here were to be found such special facilities as entrance ramps and an elevator for the convenience of the crippled, therapy rooms, a diagnostic center, specially designed halls and classrooms, a counseling center, a complete infirmary, a solarium and sun deck. In the words of the historian of Normal,

Nowhere was there a building like it, and the architects had had to be guided solely by the composite thinking of those who were responsible for the program. Uppermost had always been the need of the children requiring

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<sup>38</sup> Illinois State Normal University, *News letter* (Oct., 1948), 3.

special services—the hard of hearing, the deaf, those with defective vision and defective speech, the blind, the palsied, and the cardiac cases.<sup>39</sup>

The program of training developed along the lines of several basic principles. It has been assumed that a good special education program provides opportunity for the exceptional child to share as many activities with normal children as he is capable of doing; that exceptional children are like usual children in many significant ways; that the exceptionality of each child must be discovered, diagnosed, and dealt with individually; and that exceptional children should have access to as much education as they can benefit from. It was felt that the school life of the exceptional child should be varied and rich in such things as art experiences, recreational activities, and creative work. Nor were the fundamental skills to be neglected. The exceptional child was to be given the opportunity to “participate wholesomely in social living to the greatest possible extent, learn to assume his share of responsibility, realize the personal development of which he [was] capable and, eventually, become as self-sufficient as his limitations will permit.”<sup>40</sup> At the same time children with severe and incurable disabilities, and their parents, were to be taught to accept the disability.

To enable teachers to go out into the schools and accomplish these ends, a high degree of specialized training is given to student teachers. However, before students complete their preparation, two years of general education which covers work in English, contemporary civilization, world history, natural science, and the arts are required. In this period the student also is given professional training in education. Here he studies child growth and development, the philosophy of education, and reading methods. The remainder of the student's training is in both the general field of exceptional children and in one of the specialized areas.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, 312-13.

<sup>40</sup> *Teacher Education*, Dec., 1955, p. 19.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

The University now offers specialized preparation for those who will work with:

(1) **CHILDREN WITH IMPAIRED VISION.** Here the teacher is trained to utilize the residual vision, and wherever possible, to prevent further damage to it. Training is given in the requirements of lighting, use of magnifying apparatus, large type printed materials and typewriting instead of handwriting. Methods of instruction are emphasized in which hearing is substituted for using the eyes. Training in instruction in Braille is also provided.

(2) **CHILDREN WHO ARE DEAF OR HAVE IMPAIRED HEARING.** Teachers are trained to give help in language development, speech reading, speech training and auditory training. Fortunately relatively few children are born with a total absence of hearing, and relatively few acquire total loss. The teacher is trained to build up the use of this residual hearing through the use of amplifying equipment such as hearing aids.<sup>42</sup>

(3) **PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN.** The student is given the necessary background training to be able to co-operate with the medical specialist, the physical therapist, the speech teacher, and others who are concerned with the care and education of physically handicapped children. The training emphasizes mental health and the wholesome compensations which the physically disabled may attain. The student is given knowledge of special techniques and equipment used by these children. Above all the student teacher is encouraged to see beyond the child's disability, to discover the potentialities that lie beneath his faulty and sometimes misshapen exterior.<sup>43</sup>

(4) **CHILDREN WITH SPEECH DISORDERS.** Preparation in this field emphasizes development of good quality in the teacher's own voice and diction, and the technical background essential to speech correction. Students are given training and practical experience in diagnosis and speech correction. In the senior year students spend two hundred hours in clinical practice with half of this time being spent in the public schools. In addition, students are given the opportunity to observe and participate in diagnostic examinations, speech surveys, parent interviews, speech therapy, and the teaching of speech reading before their senior year.<sup>44</sup>

(5) **EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED AND MALADJUSTED CHILDREN.** Under the Illinois Plan the visiting counselor maintains contact between school

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<sup>42</sup> Glenn J. Taylor, "Hearing Problems Among Children," *Teacher Education* (Dec., 1952), 12-13.

<sup>43</sup> Rose E. Parker, "The Program of Teacher Education for Exceptional Children at Illinois State Normal University," *Special Education Building Dedication*, 10.

<sup>44</sup> Dorothy Eckelmann, "Function of the College and University Speech Clinic," *Illinois State Normal University Bulletin* (Sept., 1954), 47.

and home or other social agencies concerned with the child who is unable to adjust to the school situation. At Normal University the undergraduate preparation of the visiting counselor is based on the conviction that one who has had experience as a teacher can best interpret the child's problems as they relate to his school activities. Consequently in this area preparation emphasizes child psychology, understanding of community agencies and services, and an introduction to case work.

(6) THE EDUCABLE MENTALLY RETARDED. The objective of the special teacher in this area is to give these children the opportunity for personal development and eventual social usefulness. The teacher must be able to teach the basic skills of communication, arithmetic, and simple occupational skills in shop and home arts at a level that these students can grasp, and lead them into meaningful experiences in group living. These teachers need to understand the characteristics of the mentally retarded, to know how to translate abstract ideas into direct first-hand experiences which are meaningful to them.<sup>45</sup>

While the training of teachers of exceptional children remains the primary objective of the special education program, the various special clinics and laboratories in the program are also rendering valuable services to school systems throughout the state and to the general public. The Hearing Laboratory, the Psychological Counseling Service, the Reading Laboratory, and the Speech Clinic are integral parts of the special education program. The extent of the services rendered by these agencies is illustrated by the large number of cases handled. In the period May, 1952-May, 1953, the Hearing Laboratory made 2,632 hearing tests, gave training to ten persons in the use of hearing aids, and evaluated effectiveness of hearing aids for 54 others.<sup>46</sup> Since its inception in 1945, the counseling service has worked with more than 2,000 persons.<sup>47</sup> From September, 1953, to September, 1954, clients from at least fifty Illinois towns were referred to the University Speech Clinic by other speech therapists, doctors, psychologists, public-school teachers and administrators, medi-

<sup>45</sup> Rose E. Parker, "Program of Teacher Education for Exceptional Children," p. 11.

<sup>46</sup> Glenn J. Taylor, "The University Hearing Laboratory," *Illinois State Normal University Bulletin* (Sept., 1954), 16.

<sup>47</sup> Marzolf, "Psychological Counseling Service," 23.



IDENT TEACHER ATTENDS STORY TIME FOR A KINDERGARTEN CLASS

cal and welfare agencies, and parents. During the school year 1953-1954, and the summer of 1954, some service was received from the Speech Clinic by 835 persons. The Reading Laboratory has served as a testing and remedial center for schools in thirty counties. In the past two years it has assisted five communities in central Illinois in establishing programs to improve the quality of instruction in reading, writing, and spelling.<sup>48</sup>

From modest beginnings in 1943, the Special Education Program has developed into one that radiates its influence throughout the state and nation and has even been felt in the care and education of exceptional children in foreign lands. Many states are using Normal University graduates to train their exceptional children. Visitors from other universities and from foreign lands who come to observe have found the Illinois Plan an inspiration for the education of their handicapped children.

<sup>48</sup> Interview with Mary C. Serra, Director of University Reading Laboratory, Mar. 29, 1957.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Grandest of Enterprises: Illinois State Normal University, 1857-1957.* By Helen E. Marshall. (Illinois State Normal University: Normal, Illinois, 1956. Pp. 355. \$5.00.)

This is the centennial history of Illinois State Normal University, the first state-supported institution of higher education in Illinois. The book takes its title from the words of the school's second President, Richard Edwards, who said: "The education of the children of the state is the grandest of enterprises."

This is no ordinary centennial souvenir. It is first-rate history, first-rate biography, a first-rate example of the kind of fine writing some trained historians are able to produce. It was said of the great British historian, Frederick William Maitland, that "He retained to the very end his capacity for the drudgery involved in scholarship." Miss Marshall has been scholarly indeed, having encompassed within her "drudgery" an enormous assortment of sources, some of them, such as the papers of Richard Edwards, being used for the first time. One is steadily aware of the multitude of incidents, anecdotes, contemporary comments, and minute personal relationships that enrich and clarify the book.

The nine presidents of the school—Hovey, Edwards, Hewitt, Cook, Tompkins, Felmley, Brown, Fairchild and Bone (still to be inaugurated) are seen and understood as personalities as well as college administrators. The treatment of Richard Edwards seems particularly brilliant, but the reader also comes to know well all of the others. One is impressed with the stature of Hewitt, of Cook, and of Felmley.

Dr. Marshall does not gloss over the low points in the school's history. The financial troubles in constructing "Old Main" are recited in full, the clos-

ing of the high school under Governor Altgeld is reported, and the turmoil during President Brown's administration, (1930-1933) is recorded in detail. In fact, the difficulties which led to President Brown's dismissal are here revealed for the first time.

But the principal impact of the book on the reader is the realization of the greatness of the institution it describes. The vision of the founders, Jesse Fell, Jonathan Turner, Samuel Moulton, Simeon Wright, Charles Hovey, and others, was grandiose in its conception. This was reflected in the pretentious name selected ("University"), in the nobility of its first building, in the beautiful planting and landscaping of the campus. The quality of the institution was shown in the rigorous, almost petty at times, insistence on accuracy in spelling, speech, numbers, and performance. The institution's stature is told in the account of its faculty and its graduates, where they came from, where they went. Illinois State Normal University owed much to the tradition of Bridgewater (Massachusetts) Normal, from which came its second and third presidents; but it also became known itself as "The Mother of Western Normals," sending faculty and alumni to head, or teach, or frequently to found the state normal schools of a score or more of states.

The book records many of Normal's distinctive features. There is the town of Normal, which has never permitted the sale of liquor (nor cigarettes for two-thirds of its history) and even now does not have pool rooms or bowling alleys. The school's close connection with Bloomington is recorded. The book describes the emphasis at Normal University upon the training school where student teachers could observe, and teach, children from kindergarten through high school. (Among the products of the University High School are many distinguished names, such as Adlai Stevenson, Walter Dill Scott, David Davis IV, Edmund Janes James). Negro children, Miss Marshall reports, have been admitted to the training school since 1867 while Negro college students have always taught white children in their practice teaching on the campus. And the college has always been free from social fraternities and sororities.

The role of Abraham Lincoln, first attorney for the board, in helping establish the school during the first years is modestly recorded. There is the entrancing account of President (later Major General) Hovey and the "Normal Rifles" through the Civil War as Hovey expanded his company of Normal students and teachers into the Thirty-third Illinois Infantry, "The Schoolmaster's Regiment," Colonel Charles Hovey commanding.

The remarkable growth of the college during the post-Civil War years reached a peak in national leadership of the "Herbartian Movement" (during the last decade of the nineteenth century). A chapter of the book, titled "The Herbartians" describes the work of such men as Charles DeGarmo,

Frank McMurry, Charles McMurry, C. C. Van Liew, John Hall, and John G. Wilkinson. These men advocated an educational method that many good schools follow to this day.

The leadership of Normal in transforming "Normal Schools" into "Teachers Colleges," 1900-1920, is fully documented. President Felmley's ill-starred venture into the course of simplified spelling appears as both amusing and somehow admirable. There may be some who regret that Miss Marshall did not explore fully some of the educational ideas important in the institution's record, such as the Herbartianism of the Cook regime or the emphasis upon general education developed under President Brown. But that was not the primary task in this volume. Other books could and have been written on these. Professor Charles A. Harper gave an extensive treatment of Herbartianism in his Diamond Jubilee Volume, *The Development of the Teachers College*, and in his later *A Century of Public Teacher Education*.

The book includes thirty-three pages of excellent pictures. Typographical and factual errors are rare and inconsequential. There is an extensive bibliography and a good index so that the task will be easier when it is repeated in the year 2057. It may then be easier, but it is unlikely that it will be done better.

*Springfield*

RICHARD G. BROWNE

*Medicine in Chicago, 1850-1950.* By Thomas N. Bonner. (American History Research Center: Madison, Wisconsin, 1957. Pp. 302. \$5.00.)

The author, Thomas Neville Bonner, under a fellowship given him by the Chicago Medical Society and with the assistance of the society's committee on medical history offers here the story of medicine in Chicago for the years 1850 to 1950. The various chapters trace the development of medical education and medical practice in Chicago beginning with the founding of the city in 1833. The early surgeons in Fort Dearborn had little or no effect or influence on the ultimate development of the great medical center that Chicago has now become. The last of the Fort Dearborn surgeons was one Philip Maxwell who practiced in the city for twenty years after Fort Dearborn was evacuated in 1856. Presumably Maxwell Street perpetuates his memory.

The book proceeds to tell the story of medical advances chronologically for its first three chapters. Then come chapters on medical schools in Chicago and the professional societies and publications. Subsequent chapters deal with the expansion of medical education, the story of the Chicago Medical Society, social-medical problems, the origin and development of hospitals, public health work, and the relationship of the medical profession to the public.

From the point of view of professional history writing the book is excellent in its documentation, its numerous footnotes, bibliographic references, and indexing. As such it has a definite place in any reference library on the history of medicine where it should stand beside the excellent two volumes prepared by the Illinois State Medical Society under the title "History of Medical Practice in Illinois."

Although Bonner's contribution is of great excellence historically, the book is not especially readable. The chronicling of facts without adequate coloration and interpretation makes dry fodder. The period from 1850-1900 was filled with the drama of combat between man and contagion and the overcoming of obstacles to progress which, with the lack of modern scientific knowledge, were well nigh insurmountable. The period from 1900-1950 was characterized chiefly by the elimination of more than thirty inadequate commercial medical schools and the rise of the university medical colleges. Only one who participated intimately in these struggles, which involved political, economic, and social factors, could convey an adequate picture of what occurred. Much of this material is recorded not in the minutes of medical societies but in reports of committees and boards and even in court records to which apparently the author has not sought access.

The second failing of Bonner's record is in his preparation and descriptions of the medical giants such as Billings, Herrick, Quine, and many others who along with Fenger made Chicago a great medical center. From this point of view the story by Bonner is more a skeleton or framework on which to erect a competent history than a body of living flesh and blood. The period from 1900-1920 was filled with scandals, quackery, exploitation, and governmental mismanagement from which exuded at all times a disgusting odor. The great leaders of medicine in Illinois were the men who submitted themselves to abuse and attack in order to do a public health job on medical development. Their success is what makes the great Chicago medicine of today with standards of the highest in the fields of education, research, and medical practice.

*Chicago*

MORRIS FISHBEIN

*General George B. McClellan, Shield of the Union.* By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1957. Pp. 350. \$6.00.)

The weary exclamation of the sophisticated who reach for this volume may well be: "What? Another book on McClellan? Why?" Be it therefore said at once: their suspicion that it will be largely a rehash is not quite borne out by the contents nor, unfortunately, is it entirely dissipated.

To find evidence that this is the author's first book one need not read beyond the preface. There Hassler hides behind statements and sentiments of others, the sure thumbprint of the beginner. This tendency persists throughout, regardless of the fact that for each opinion on one side there usually is one to the contrary. If anyone wishes to write history by expert testimony, he should follow courtroom procedure all the way, presenting both opposing views impartially, not favoring those which coincide with his own.

The first chapters of the volume strengthen the impression gained in the preface by showing the hand of the novice in small things, such as his repetitious description of Lee's soldiers as "grayclad," a clever enough expression; but Hassler rides it to death, and thereby robs himself of a well-deserved literary merit mark.

McClellan's story then moves through the Peninsular campaign in well-worn grooves; nevertheless, several gross inaccuracies should be noted. At Beaver Dam Creek the Federals did not number 9,000, but 5,000, as was recorded by Porter. True, most Civil War generals had a habit of minimizing their own forces, but in this case we have some corroboration. Porter had only 25,000 men, and would hardly have put more than a third of them on a single small sector, especially on the only one which was a natural bastion. Moreover, if Hassler visited that battlefield with a critical eye, he must have seen that it would have been practically impossible to crowd 9,000 men into the available space. Hassler's report on the Gaines Mill engagement suffers also from faulty arithmetic. If Porter had 25,000 men to start with, and in the afternoon was reinforced with 8,000, plus two brigades from Sumner (p. 148), he had 33,000 men plus two brigades, against Lee's 57,000 men (p. 145). How then can the author support his assertion that the Federals were outnumbered "fully two to one" (p. 148)? Another piece of carelessness: how could Porter's troops at Beaver Dam Creek be designated as his right flank, when it plainly was his left (p. 145)?

Probably to show his thoroughness and erudition, Hassler deluges the reader with references, most of them properly taken from primary or near-primary sources, although oddly he includes one from the arch-liar Lafayette C. Baker.

Occasionally, and without apparent reason, he cites more recent authors, yet, oddly again, only those whose names shed reflected glory. Was it really necessary to quote Margaret Leech's *Reveille in Washington* for the day on which McClellan arrived in Washington, or Freeman for the undisputed fact that up to the fight at Philippi, McClellan had advanced with commendable vigor? And why are we offered the stale and irrelevant information that Leech's book gives an excellent description of the war-time capital? After this it will come as no surprise that Sandburg and Catton are men-

tioned on matters of minor importance. On the other hand, there are no references to less popular writers who, prior to Hassler, had pointed out the contrast between Lincoln's attitude toward McClellan and that toward Grant, and who had probed Stanton's motive in making a premature announcement of Richmond's expected fall. No doubt Hassler made the same observations independently, and hence found it unnecessary to credit or even mention the previous authors.

A much more serious instance of a missing reference occurs on page 272. Here the author states that in September, 1862, five days after the battle of Antietam, Lee had 36,418 *infantry*, "*although scarcely any stragglers had joined him by the 21st.*" (Italics supplied.) From this premise, for which for once he gives no reference at all, he deduces that the Confederates at Antietam numbered 57,152 men, and not some 40,000 or less, as had been generally assumed.

Hassler's claim, if substantiated, would be an important, not to say exciting contribution to history. But did he substantiate it?

The reference to the *Official Records*, which Hassler so strangely omitted, will be found in Freeman (Vol. II, p. 408), who, on the basis of it, arrives at the contrary conclusion that "*even with the stragglers who had come up*" (italics supplied), Lee had only 36,418 *infantry* present for duty on September 22.

Unfortunately, the reference makes no mention of stragglers, one way or another, and Freeman cites no further authorities, nor does he indicate the number of stragglers said to have joined the army between September 17 and 22. So far as the official record goes, the question as to who and what is correct therefore remains unanswered. However, we have two high-caliber witnesses who should be heard: Lee himself, who stated in his official report that "This great battle was fought by less than 40,000 men on our side" (*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* II, p. 603), and the chief clerk of the Adjutant General's office at Confederate headquarters, who came close to confirming this figure by reporting the Confederate forces in the battle at 33,000 *infantry* and 41,500 men of *all arms* (*Battles and Leaders* II, p. 565n).

With these data before him, each reader will have to make up his own mind whether Hassler's startling estimate is a historical bomb or a dud.

Although in his own writings this reviewer has strongly rebuked the popular, but unwarranted attacks on McClellan, he looks with disfavor on inaccuracies or exaggerations to defend this view. How does Hassler, for example, explain his statement that at South Mountain McClellan's troops did the attacking against a "somewhat outnumbered" enemy, when in truth he led two army corps of about 24,000 men against a single division of some

5,000, which was not reinforced until late in the afternoon, and then only with 4,900 men? (*Battles and Leaders* II, p. 578n.)

Hassler hits his stride, though, at the battle of Antietam, which is admirably done. There probably exists no better and more exciting account of this bloody engagement. The one blemish in an otherwise perfect picture is the inclusion of Porter's alleged remark on the non-use of his reserves. His positive denial, published in *Battles and Leaders*, certainly should have been put into juxtaposition with the republication of that malicious legend.

In the aftermath of Antietam, Hassler misses a point by stating that the War Department "seemed unable" to put needed supplies into McClellan's hands. This remark, and the one "that Stanton does not seem to have made much effort to do so," appears entirely too feeble, considering that further studies would have indicated a deliberate withholding of the supplies. He misses another point by failing to explain that the run-down conditions of the Federal cavalry, on which Lincoln commented so sarcastically, was neither an exaggeration nor a figment of McClellan's imagination, but was due to the hoof-and-mouth disease, from which the animals were suffering.

The maps in the book leave several things to be desired. For one, there is no indication as to the scale on which they are drawn; furthermore, rivers and roads are marked by almost identical lines, making proper differentiating difficult.

Hassler's volume ends on an amusing note. He, the tyro author of one book, and that in a field which able men have plowed before him, sets himself up as a high court, and pronounces sentence over previous historical works and workers. Old-timers will be glad to have, among other things, his affirmation that Freeman's *Lee* is a magnificent piece of work; on the other hand, the cavalier condemnation of others is not accompanied by any reasons, arguments or specifications. As a judge, Hassler surely stands in a class all by himself.

Hassler's great failing as a historian is his inability or unwillingness to dig below the surface into the subject which underlies his book. Readers unacquainted with the events of that era, puzzled as they must be by the hostile attitude of the Radicals toward McClellan, will never suspect that he was only a pawn in a game which had much wider ramifications. Such ramifications, however, cannot be found by a mere reading of books and manuscripts, even though it include the entire Congressional Library and all the volumes of the *Official Records*.

Hassler's mettle will be shown when and if he tackles a bigger task than the re-writing of an often-told biography, with not enough new facts or theories to justify its *raison d'être*.

Chicago

OTTO EISENSCHIML

*A Guide to Early American Homes—North.* By Dorothy and Richard Pratt. (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.: New York, 1956. Pp. 251. \$6.95.)

The authors say there are some nine hundred interesting Early American Homes in the fourteen-state area covered in their book—north of the Mason-Dixon Line and Ohio River and east of the Mississippi. All of these houses are open to the public—about two-thirds of them are maintained for exhibition purposes and the other third may be visited subject to arrangements with the owners, which are listed for each one.

The book is illustrated with about 175 photographs and has an adequate index. Immediately below the name and date for each of the houses is the information necessary to travelers: the address, name of the owner, hours open or what arrangements may be made to see the house, and the admission charge, if any.

Most of the houses in a book of this kind are naturally in New England with the number diminishing the farther west the reader or traveler goes. Ten pages are devoted to the twenty-nine Illinois houses mentioned. Of this total sixteen are privately owned. Fifteen of them were described more fully in John Drury's *Old Illinois Houses*. Pictured in the Illinois chapter are the Power home at Cantrall, owned by Mrs. June Power Reilly, and the General John E. Smith House at Galena, which is the property of Mr. and Mrs. Louis I. Nack. The other houses pictured are the Lincoln Home, Cahokia Courthouse, Grant Home, Pierre Menard Home and Onstot Cooper Shop, New Salem.

H. F. R.

*Abraham Lincoln. Selected Speeches, Messages, and Letters.* Edited with an introduction and notes by T. Harry Williams. (Rinehart & Co., Inc.: New York, 1957. Pp. 290. \$.75.)

There are a number of good collections of the selected speeches and writings of Abraham Lincoln. But this little volume edited by T. Harry Williams has one outstanding feature—the introduction by the editor. This brief essay of some ten pages is one of the finest presentations of Lincoln's political philosophy that this reviewer has ever seen. The book should be in everyone's library for that reason alone and it bears reading and re-reading.

Williams has interpreted Lincoln's political philosophy from what he said and did. The four primary principles apparent to him in Lincoln's thought, very briefly summarized, are:

1. A belief that some supernatural force largely directed the affairs of

men; there was a divine or higher law of which men were aware and to which they should seek to approximate their human law.

2. A belief that man was possessed of a higher nature. He knew right from wrong and was capable of achieving almost unlimited social progress.

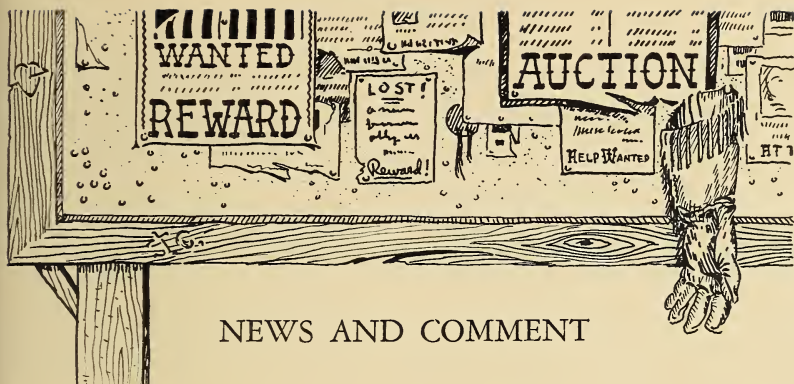
3. A belief that the most efficient economic system was one in which most people owned property; all should strive to secure property. Some would get more than others, but there should be equal opportunity for all.

4. A passionate belief in the American Union as the world's greatest democracy. Our Union was an infinitely precious governmental experiment.

In his devotion to this fourth principle Lincoln was to make his greatest contribution to history. The belief that the Union was an organic whole was a passion with Lincoln. This country was the "last best hope of earth" and for that reason, if for no other it must be preserved, regardless of hazard or cost.

The selections are chosen with the idea of showing Lincoln's ideas on these subjects. One will not find the beautifully sympathetic letter to Fanny McCullough, the letter to Grace Bedell, nor Lincoln's intimate and personal letters to his friend Joshua Fry Speed. But the selections chosen are excellent and serve the purpose of the editor. This is not just a revised edition of Dr. Williams' *Selected Writings and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln* (1943), and for a paper-backed book it is a most attractive little volume.

S. A. W.



## NEWS AND COMMENT

### ANNUAL MEETING AT NORMAL, OCTOBER 11 AND 12

Dr. T. Harry Williams, one of the country's best-known authors of books on Lincoln and the Civil War and professor of history at Louisiana State University, will be the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society at Normal on October 11 and 12. The meeting will be held in co-operation with Illinois State Normal University as a part of the year-long celebration of that institution's centennial.

The title of Dr. Williams' talk at the annual dinner Friday evening in the I.S.N.U. Student Union dining room will be "The Last Gentleman's War," and it will concern the subject of chivalry and fraternization in the Civil War.

Dr. Williams is a native of Illinois and the author of *Lincoln and the Radicals* (1941), *Lincoln and His Generals* (1952) and *P. G. T. Beauregard* (1955). Also, in 1943, he edited *Selected Writings and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln*, and in 1957 *Abraham Lincoln, Selected Speeches, Messages, and Letters*. For a review of the latter book see p. 211 of this *Journal*. Following Dr. Williams' talk Richard B. Harwell of Chicago will present a program of recordings of Civil War music.

Among the other speakers at the session will be Dr. Robert G. Bone, president of I. S. N. U.; Dr. Helen Marshall of the history faculty, and State Historian Clyde C. Walton.

Tentative plans call for a guided tour of the campus Friday morning and a bus trip covering the historical, industrial and agricultural sites of the Bloomington-Normal-Hudson area on Saturday.

Members of the Historical Society will receive a complete program in ample time to make their reservations.

## RADIO-TELEVISION HISTORY AWARDS

Annual awards of \$500 each to a local radio or television station and a local or state historical society for the program which contributes most to local history in their community have been announced by the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company. Under the rules programs broadcast through December 31, 1957 are eligible this year. The participating station (radio or television) must submit its program or series of programs by tape recording, film or transcription to the local or state historical society by January 15, 1958. The society's selection (made by five non-member judges) will be forwarded to Westinghouse by February 1 and the winner will be announced sometime during March, 1958.

In his letter to the Illinois State Historical Society announcing the awards President Donald H. McGannon said, "There is a world of rich material not only in American history in general, but particularly in the very interesting local aspects of American history as related to the heritage of each of our communities. I'm sure you and your organization have recognized this for many years since it, in effect, represents the basic objective of such a society. WBC has searched for some method by which it could stimulate not only a programming effort in this direction but also (and of equal importance) a higher degree of activity and a more intimate relationship between the broadcasting stations of America and their local historical societies."

## THE SOCIETY'S 1957 SPRING TOUR

Illinois State Historical Society members—some two hundred of them—on their 1957 Spring Tour, enjoyed two days (May 3 and 4) of seeing where Illinois history was made more than a century ago and how and where it is being taught today when they visited Carthage, Nauvoo and Macomb.

Following registration on Friday morning at Sherman Hall on the campus of Western Illinois State College the group was welcomed to the town of Macomb and to the school by its president, Dr. Frank A. Beu. Dr. William E. Lipsey, dean of the college, gave a brief history of the growth of the institution—from 1903 when it conferred its first two-year diploma, to 1957 when it will grant 324 Bachelors' and 92 Masters' degrees; from 70 acres to 424; and from one building to twenty. He mentioned many points of interest on the campus and then the visitors were conducted in small groups by student guides to see them.

Friday's luncheon was served at the Lamoine Hotel in Macomb and the Society's secretary-treasurer, Clyde C. Walton, substituted as the speaker for Dr. Marcy G. Bodine, head of the Western Illinois department of social science, who was unable to attend. He told of a diary—recently discovered by

the Illinois State Historical Library staff—which recorded the experiences of two Illinoisans who went to the Black Hills in 1876 seeking gold. The men were James Bryan and Charlie Hallenbeck of Cordova and the period covered was from March 13 to August 20. By reading excerpts and interpreting other passages the speaker gave an entertaining story of the entire adventure.

The group returned to the Sherman Hall auditorium after luncheon and Ralph E. Francis of Kankakee, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, presided at the afternoon sessions. Donald W. Marshall of the Social Science faculty told of the problems of teaching history at the junior high and senior high school levels. Secretary-Treasurer Walton spoke on Student Historian Award Day and future plans for the program. Alex Summers of Mattoon, senior vice-president of the State Society, then showed a series of a dozen colored slides taken at the organization's first regional meeting held in Princeton on March 23 and 24. (See Spring issue of this *Journal*, pp. 108-12.)

The annual Spring dinner was held in the dining room of Western's Science Hall where each table setting was decorated with a five-inch pottery vase, a souvenir gift of the Haeger Art Ware and Pottery company. The speaker of the evening, Dr. Kimball Young, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, Evanston, was introduced by John W. Allen, of Carbondale, past president of the State Historical Society. Dr. Young, a grandson of Brigham Young—the next day he visited Nauvoo for the first time—read a lively and entertaining paper on "The Mormons in Illinois."

On Saturday morning the Society members assembled in a lecture room in Science Hall and were briefed by Dr. Bodine, chairman of the local arrangements committee, on the program for the day. Transportation for the outing was provided by four buses of the Macomb Unit School District—which were followed by half a dozen private automobiles. First stop on the trip was at the limestone jail in Carthage where the Mormon leaders Joseph and Hyrum Smith were killed by a mob on June 27, 1844. At the doorway the group was addressed by Mrs. Lewis C. Mathews, wife of the caretaker, who described the construction of the building with its thirty-one-inch walls, oak floors and butternut beams and told the story of the Smiths. The jail is now owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Utah) and is maintained as a shrine.

From Carthage the route led to Hamilton and up State Route 96, along the Mississippi River, where lilacs and dandelions were in full bloom, to Nauvoo State Park. There the group visited the Rheinberger Home which has been furnished as a museum by the Nauvoo Historical Society. A feature of the house, which was built by the Mormon settlers and later added to by

the Icarians, was the large wine cellar dug back into the hillside half a story below the basement level.

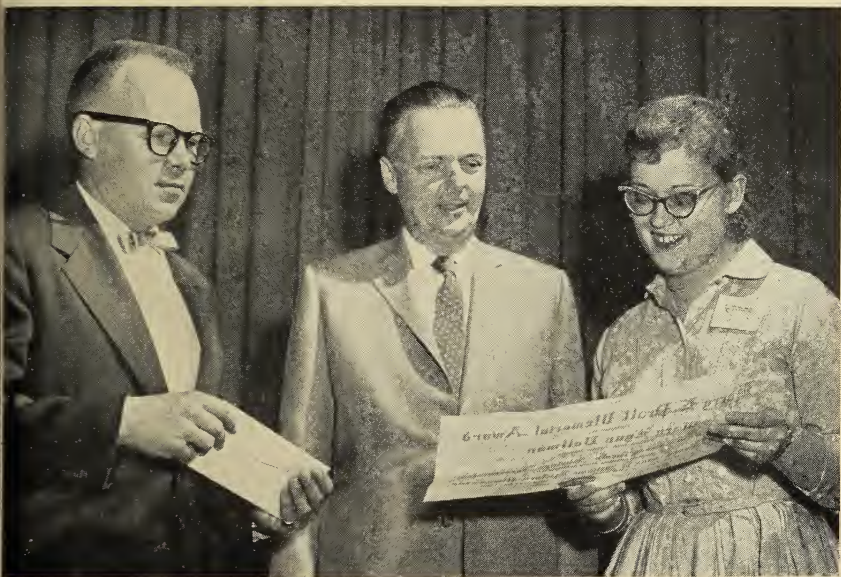
A "family-style" fried chicken luncheon was served at the Nauvoo Hotel where the 136 guests taxed the excellent dining facilities. The tour was resumed after luncheon with the first stop at the Gem City Vineland Company plant. There the group was conducted through the wine cellar with its more than a dozen casks of 950 to 1,790 gallons capacity each, plus numerous smaller casks and barrels. The next stop was at the riverfront site of the Joseph Smith Homestead, the first home of the Prophet in Nauvoo—in the yard of which is the burying ground with the graves of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and the former's wife, Emma. After hearing a brief history of the site by Robert Fishbourn, custodian of the properties for the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Independence, Missouri), the group went through the Homestead and then the Mansion House, a block to the north of it, where Joseph Smith lived later. The final stop on the tour of the town was made at the plant of the Nauvoo Blue Cheese company where Ray Falk, the cheesemaker, explained the process used and conducted a tour of the plant which turns out a million and a half pounds of Roquefort-type cheese yearly. Between the stops and on the way out of town the guides provided for each bus by the Nauvoo Historical Society pointed out various other buildings and sites of the Mormon and Icarian periods.

The buses returned to the Western Illinois campus where most of the visitors had left their cars and by 5 P.M. the group was having cookies and coffee at the Hotel Lamoine, after which the two-day session was ended.

#### STUDENT HISTORIAN AWARD DAY

Governor William G. Stratton presented award certificates to twenty-seven Student Historians of the Year and the Harry E. Pratt and John H. Hauberg memorial award winners were named on the ninth annual Student Historian Award Day held on Friday afternoon, May 24. State Historian Clyde C. Walton and Phyllis E. Underwood, director of the Illinois Student Historian program, were in charge of the ceremonies held in the auditorium of the Illinois Building on the State Fairgrounds in Springfield.

The awards were based on articles published during October, November and December, 1956, in the *Illinois Junior Historian* and in its successor, *Illinois History* magazine, from January through May, 1957. Both publications were sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society but beginning with the January issue the format was changed, the purposes redefined and the printing was taken over by Southern Illinois University Press of Carbondale.



### AUTHOR OF THE BEST ARTICLE ABOUT LINCOLN

Mary Lynn Vollman shows Governor William G. Stratton the hand-lettered parchment certificate she received as the author of the best Lincoln article published in the February issue of *Illinois History* magazine. Richard Hagen, left, had just presented her the Harry E. Pratt Memorial Award on behalf of the Friends of the Lincoln Shrines, Inc.

Selection of the award winners was made by a panel of ten judges including the State Historian and the editor of the magazine. The others were Miss Frances Chambers, teacher at Calvin Coolidge Junior High School, Moline; James Fielding, production manager of television station WCIA, Champaign; Ralph E. Francis of Kankakee, president of the Illinois State Historical Society; F. S. Haynes, publisher of the *Illinois State Journal*, Springfield; James T. Hickey of Elkhart, a director and chairman of the publications committee of the Illinois State Historical Society; Irving Kupciner, radio and television commentator and columnist of the *Chicago Sun-Times*; Vernon Sternberg, director of Southern Illinois University Press; and Horace M. Wollerman, director of audio-visual education for the Alton schools.

The twenty-seven Student Historians of the Year represented eighteen schools in fourteen communities throughout the state. One of them, Jane Johnson of East Junior High School, Alton, received her third successive annual award. The only student ever to duplicate this accomplishment was



### ILLINOIS HISTORY TEACHER OF THE YEAR

Mrs. Eva Weinreich, a teacher in the Washington School, Dixon, is shown as she received the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award for the teacher who had done most for the Illinois Student Historian program during the 1956-1957 school year. Making the presentation is Walter E. McBride, past president of the Rotary Club of Rock Island.

her sister, Carol, who received awards in 1952, 1953 and 1954. Three other students received their second awards: Tom Angell of the Harvard School for Boys, Chicago, was a winner in 1955, and Paula Rowe of Dixon High School, and James Krolak of LaSalle-Peru Township High School, LaSalle, received awards last year.

First of the three major awards to be announced was the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award for the teacher who had done most for the Illinois Student Historian program during the school year. This citation, a hand-



### PRESENTATION OF THE HAUBERG STUDENT AWARD

Ralph E. Francis, left, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, presents the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award to Carole Benson of Sterling while Governor Stratton looks on. Carole was the author of the best non-Lincoln article published in *Illinois History* during the year.



### GOVERNOR RECEIVES STUDENTS' HISTORY

State Historian Clyde C. Walton, left, and Phyllis E. Underwood, editor of *Illinois History*, present Governor Stratton a leather-bound copy of the eight issues of the magazine published during the 1956-1957 school year.

lettered scroll, and \$25 were presented to Mrs. Eva Weinreich, for twelve years a teacher at Washington School, Dixon. The presentation was made by Walter E. McBride, a past president of the Rotary Club of Rock Island, which sponsored this award. Mrs. Weinreich was the organizer and for the past eight years has been the sponsor of the Student Historical Society at her school. During that time members of the society have won thirteen Student Historian Awards and, in 1954, she was cited by the Daughters of the American Revolution for her contribution to good citizenship through her work with this group.

Carole Benson, a fourteen-year-old eighth grade student at Sterling Junior High School, received the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award for the best non-Lincoln article published during the year. Ralph E. Francis presented the \$25 award, which is sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society. Carole's winning article, published in the May issue of *Illinois History* and titled "A Pioneer Agriculturalist," was the story of Dr. Lott S. Pennington, whose farming and farm research were carried on in Whiteside County. This was the second year the Hauberg awards were presented, honoring the late Rock Island historian, philanthropist and civic leader.

Winner of the first Harry E. Pratt Memorial Award and \$100 for the best article about Abraham Lincoln published in the February issue of *Illinois History* was Mary Lynn Vollman, a sixteen-year-old sophomore in the Danville High School. Her article, titled "An Oak Tree Speaks," was about the tree that stands at Lincoln's birthplace near Hodgenville, Kentucky. This award was established in honor of Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Illinois State Historian and Lincoln author, who died on February 12, 1956. The award is sponsored by the Friends of the Lincoln Shrines, Inc., and the presentation was made by that organization's secretary-treasurer, Richard Hagen of Galena.

Following presentation of the teacher and student awards, State Historian Walton and Miss Underwood presented Governor Stratton a leather-bound copy of the eight issues of the magazine for the 1956-1957 year.

Here is the list of those receiving Illinois Student Historian of the Year awards:

*Alton:* Jon A. Goedde, Alton High School; and Jane Johnson, East Junior High School.

*Bloomington:* Susan Bicket and John C. Tidemann, Washington Junior High School.

*Canton:* Sheila Haynes, Canton Junior High School.

*Chicago:* Ellis Cohen and Tom Angell, Harvard School for Boys.

*Danville:* Mary Lynn Vollman, Danville High School.

*Dixon:* Karen Spencer, Washington School; and Paula Rowe, Dixon High School.

*Elgin:* Diane Partridge and Pat Danner, Abbott Junior High School.

*Geneseo:* Donald H. Johnson, Geneseo Junior High School.

*LaSalle:* James Krolak, LaSalle-Peru Township High School.

*Moline:* Jon Schiewe, John Ericson and Harry Cozad, Calvin Coolidge Junior High School; and Bob Vogelbaugh, Moline Senior High School.

*New Lenox:* Dan Owen, Lincoln-Way Community High School.

*Princeton:* Doug Criner, Princeton High School; and Larry Schafer, Logan Junior High School.

*Rock Island:* Joel Robert Harris, Eleanore DeSmet, Jane Aiken and Marsha Blunt, Washington Junior High School.

*Sterling:* Carole Benson and Judy Wilson, Sterling Junior High School.

### GRANT HOME AT GALENA REDEDICATED

Governor William G. Stratton rededicated the Ulysses S. Grant Home in Galena in ceremonies held on April 27, the 135th anniversary of the General's birth. Everette B. ("Pete") Long, of the Chicago Civil War Round Table, spoke on "Illinois During Grant's Time." The Home, which was presented to Grant by "some of our [Galena's] liberal and patriotic citizens" when he returned on August 18, 1865, from the Civil War, was occupied by the General and his family until he left for Washington to be inaugurated as President in 1869. Following his eight years in the White House and a world tour, Grant returned to Galena and occupied the house until 1881 when he moved to New York.

The restoration, which was directed by Richard S. Hagen, historical consultant for the Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials, had as its object the re-creation of the Home as it was during the period when the Grants occupied it. Hagen has promised to discuss this subject in detail in an article for a future issue of this *Journal*.

The rededication was the climax of a week of colorful ceremonies in Galena, including the annual U. S. Grant Boy Scout Pilgrimage.

### ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

G. C. Clementz addressed the Bond County Historical Society on April 9 on "Early Schools of the County."

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Dr. Edward W. Mill, professor of political science and assistant to the president at Rockford College, spoke on "America and the Philippines: Partners in the Pacific" at the March 21 meeting of the Boone County Historical Society. Dr. Mill was for several years head of the State Department's Philippine Foreign Affairs training program and later consul in Indonesia. The address was especially timely, as Dr. Mill is one of the few Americans

qualified to judge the effect of the recent death of Philippine President Ramón Magsaysay in a plane crash.

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The South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) held its winter meeting in the South Shore Library on February 19. Wallace Merrill showed slides of scenes and personages of some of the suburbs now included in the south-eastern part of Chicago.

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The Evanston Historical Society viewed the Ford Foundation's film "Mr. Lincoln," with Royal Dano in the title role, at its meeting on March 30. The presentation was open to the public. Mrs. Morgan Gibney, Mrs. Chauncey Hobart and Mrs. Porter Heaps were committee chairmen. Girls from Evanston High School acted as ushers.

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The Rev. Stanley Brown of Diamond Lake Methodist Church was moderator of a panel discussion at the meeting of the Historical Society of the Fort Hill Country on February 18. Other members of the panel were Joseph Tekampe, George B. Brainerd, Mrs. George A. Ross and Gordon Ray. The meeting was held at the Ivanhoe church.

Intermediate Girl Scouts of Diamond Lake School were hostesses to the Society when it met in the school gymnasium on March 18. Mrs. Philip Simpson, leader of the group, spoke on "One Hundred Years of Pupil-Teacher Problems in Rural Education," and the girls presented four scenes from the history of the township.

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The Libertyville-Mundelein Historical Society met in Cook Memorial Library, Libertyville, on February 25. G. Carroll Gridley described his ancestors' arrival in Vernon Township and their trip to the California gold fields. George B. Brainerd spoke on the early history of the Ivanhoe church.

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Thomas A. Scully addressed the Logan County Historical Society at Emden on February 24, telling of his father William Scully and the foundation of the Scully estates. Five historical sketches were presented: of Orvil Township, compiled by William A. Komnick and read by Mrs. Ruth Finchum; of Prairie Creek Township, compiled and read by James W. Ryan; of Harrisburg, compiled by Mrs. Bessie Bruns and read by Mrs. Elsie Payne; of Emden, compiled by William A. Komnick and read by Mrs. Laura Heineken; and of Bethel, compiled by Ben Hilgendorf and read by Mrs. Ruth Minch. Music was furnished by a quartet from the First Methodist Church of Lincoln, composed of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Splain, Miss Jane Whiteman and Dean

May, with Mrs. Roy S. Anderson as accompanist. Miss Whiteman also sang a solo. Mayor Henry Hildebrands welcomed the group to Emden.

William A. Komnick was elected president of the Society. The other officers, all re-elected, are: E. H. Lukenbill, vice-president; Conrad Miller, secretary; and George A. Volle, treasurer. Ex-President James T. Hickey and Mrs. Garland Green were named as a committee for restoration and maintenance of the Mt. Pulaski courthouse.

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T. Val Wenk was elected president of the Marshall County Historical Society by the board of directors at a meeting on February 21. Maud Uschold, Mrs. Walter Du Bois and Lois Leigh were chosen as vice-presidents; and Eleanor Bussell and Roscoe Ball re-elected as secretary and treasurer respectively.

At the Society's meeting on April 1—postponed one week because of inclement weather—at La Rose, a program devoted to early settlers of Bell Plain Township was presented under the direction of Mrs. Ralph Kimpling and Fay Ball. Mrs. Charles Rolinski, Donna Stanley, Edna Schumacher, Mrs. Carrie Bestold, Mrs. Electa Spangler, George Iliff and Mrs. Evelyn Whetzal participated. A. W. Juers gave reminiscences of the history of the Santa Fe Railroad, with which he has been connected for forty years.

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Alberta Balmer reviewed articles on the Mormon Trail by Dr. William Petersen, and spoke on "Contributions of the Icarians," at the Nauvoo Historical Society meeting at the high school on April 16. The film "Lincoln in Illinois" was shown.

The Society has planned five weekend tours of Nauvoo's historical sites for the third weekend of each month from May through September.

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The Ogle County Historical Society met at Chana on February 25. Informal discussions concerned various aspects of county history. The Society met in Polo in May in connection with that city's centennial.

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The Perry County Historical Society's mimeographed "Proceedings" were distributed to members attending the meeting at the John B. Ward School, DuQuoin, on April 1. George Ulrich, Pinckneyville philatelist, addressed the group on his hobby.

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The Randolph County Historical Society has been working for the preservation of the Pierre Menard home. Students from Sparta High School have been active in the project, and their work was recognized at the Society's meeting in that city on March 29. Senator R. G. Crisenberry reported on

the progress of the bill introduced by him for an appropriation for that object. Awards were presented to Catherine Price and Rose Marie Fessler in the high school division and Lois Deimund and Mary Kohlberg in the grade school division for the best essays on Menard submitted in a recent county-wide contest. Richard S. Hagen, historical consultant for the State Division of Parks and Memorials, presented an illustrated lecture on the reconstruction of the Lincoln Home in Springfield, referring also to such projects as Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock, the restored village at New Salem, and the Grant Home at Galena. Past President John W. Allen of the Illinois State Historical Society spoke briefly. President Ebers Schweizer of the Randolph County Society presided.

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The Rockton Township (Winnebago County) Historical Society met on April 9 in the home of Mrs. William Zinnecker. The Society has continued to engage in various activities to raise money to complete the restoration of the Stephen Mack house.

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Ten pupils of Louis E. Aaron in the fifth grade at Lincoln School in Eldorado presented a program of old-time dances before the Saline County Historical Society on March 5. Mrs. J. A. Musgrave of Harrisburg, a member of the American Bell Association, spoke on "Historic Bells" and exhibited a portion of her bell collection.

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Lage Nelsson of Kalmar, Sweden, addressed the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford on February 24. Sonja Carlson, 1956 midsummer queen, reported on her visit to Sweden, and students in Swedish from East High School, Rockford, gave songs and readings. Charles E. Boettcher, Carl A. Dahlgren and Gust W. Nelson were elected directors. Thirteen other directors and all officers were re-elected. The officers and directors met on March 10 to plan the Society's twentieth anniversary celebration.

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The history of the old Rapp store in Geff was discussed at the Wayne County Historical Society's meeting on March 29.

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John W. Allen, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, spoke on various historic sites in "Egypt" before the Williamson County Historical Society on April 7. President Snyder E. Herrin presided.

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*Secretaries of local historical societies are urged to send in reports of the activities of their societies to this Journal.*

*Journal*  
*of the*  
ILLINOIS STATE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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RENDLEMAN HOUSE IN CAIRO

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

AUTUMN 1957

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(For further information see inside of back cover)

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ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER ON JULY 5, 1918, AT THE POST OFFICE  
AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, UNDER THE ACT OF OCTOBER 5, 1917

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*Journal*  
*of the*  
**ILLINOIS STATE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



VOLUME L

NUMBER 3

AUTUMN 1957

Published four times a year, Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter

WILLIAM G. STRATTON, Governor  
STATE OF ILLINOIS

(Printed by authority of the State of Illinois)



(63859—11-57)

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"WON, 1880—ONE, 1884"

*The Courtship of William Jennings Bryan  
and Mary Elizabeth Baird*

BY PAOLO E. COLETTA

IN THE FALL of 1879, William Jennings Bryan, age nineteen, entered his junior year at Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois. At the same time, Mary Elizabeth Baird, age eighteen, enrolled at the Jacksonville Female Academy. In accordance with custom, the "Jail for Angels," as the Academy was popularly called, permitted gentlemen callers into its parlors at stated times. It was at one of these "open houses" that Bryan first saw Mary. Her features were clear-cut but gently molded into an oval face. She had full, curved lips, large gray-brown eyes, and soft, curly brown hair. She laughed readily and moved about lightly. However, a searching expression and an occasional calculating glint revealed that there was an intellect behind her attractive appearance.

Mary's charm may have proved irresistible to Bryan, but she was not immediately taken with him. While he was tall enough for her, his face was pale and thin. His brows were heavy, his nose too prominent to look well, and his hair was

*Paolo E. Coletta is an instructor in the Department of English, History, and Government at the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland. He has written a number of articles about William Jennings Bryan and his family for various historical publications—among which was "Silas Bryan of Salem," for the March, 1949 issue of this Journal.*

parted "distressingly straight." On the other hand, his dark eyes were keen, his black hair fine in quality, and his thin-lipped mouth and square-cut chin revealed determination. He was neat but not fastidious, carried himself with dignity, and his smile was expansive and expressive.<sup>1</sup> Little did she suspect, as they were introduced, that she would some day be Mrs. William Jennings Bryan and see him nominated three times for the presidency of the United States.

Bryan's resourcefulness in circumventing the Academy's rules for callers proved prodigious. The girls were permitted only one free afternoon a month. Since they exercised by walking about the block on which their school stood, Bryan took to walking with her. When her mother, ill, stayed in a local sanitorium during the winter of 1879-1880, he called upon her at the same time that Mary did. Afterward, in violation of rules, he took Mary for rides in a rented buggy. So far so good—until Mrs. Baird returned home. The story may be apocryphal, but he is supposed to have climbed a tree that grew by her window and pursued his courtship from a precarious perch. Also, trusted messengers carried mail between them almost daily. Unsatisfied, Bryan moved boldly. He got the wife of the president of Illinois College to invite Mary to her home for an evening when he, too, would be there. Several other women fell in with his requests, with the result that the courtship flourished in the midst of a merry conspiracy.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Mary would occasionally wear a thick veil over her face and in this "disguise" spend stolen moments with him.<sup>3</sup>

By the end of May, 1880, Bryan's strategy was uncovered by the Academy. When the principal, E. F. Bullard, told

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<sup>1</sup> William Jennings Bryan and Mary Baird Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Philadelphia, 1925), 222-23.

<sup>2</sup> Bryan to Mary Baird, March 9, 27, 1880, Mrs. Ruth Bryan Rohde Papers; interviews with Miss Carrie Dunlap and Mrs. Julian Wadsworth, Jacksonville, Ill., June 28, 1947.

<sup>3</sup> Bryan to Mary Baird, May 2, 4, 12, 1880; Mary to Bryan, May 11, 1880, Rohde Papers.

Bryan that he had violated his privileges and his honor as a gentleman, Bryan tried to assume full blame. Powerless to punish him, Bullard declared that Mary must suffer for her wrongs.<sup>4</sup> Driven to deep thought, Bryan and Mary concluded that they cared more for each other than they had suspected. She disliked his persistent questions about her ambitions, her parents, and her religious life, yet her love for him was greater than the fear of any punishment Bullard might inflict. When Bullard declared that the "dignity of the school" would be upheld if she returned home immediately, before the end of the term, but that she could return in the fall rather than be expelled, she submitted quite graciously. More important to her was the fact that she must explain the situation to her parents. "Am going on the seven o'clock train, but it would not be safe for you to go down would it," she wrote Bryan.<sup>5</sup>

Bullard escorted Mary to the train, saw her seated and, taking no chances, waited until the train pulled out. Bryan had failed her, Mary mused: at least he had not received the intent of the suggestion she had written him. Meantime Bryan was coming forward from a baggage car in which he had hidden from Bullard. Bryan sat beside her, and they exchanged rings, but when he insisted upon going home with her to ask for her parents' consent to their engagement she balked: she made him get off at the next stop and return to Jacksonville—she would handle her parents herself!

Mollified by Mary's explanation of her honorable relations with Bryan, by a letter in which Bullard referred to the "thoughtless" rather than "evil" error the youths had made, and by a letter of apology from Bryan himself, John Baird concluded that a "sad mistake" had been made but that Bryan was not a "fast young man."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> E. F. Bullard to Bryan, May 22, 24, 1880, *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Mary Baird to Bryan, May 25, 1880, *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Bryan to John Baird, May 26, 1880; Bryan to Mary Baird, May 26, 27; Mary Baird to Bryan, May 27, 29; Bullard to Mary Baird, May 28; John Baird to Bryan, June 1, *Ibid.*

Summertime courtship proceeded by letter, for Bryan worked on the paternal farm, in Salem, while Mary took up domestic science at her home, in Perry. Among the reasons he loved her, he wrote, were her congenial disposition, her reading of good books, and her sensibleness. She was kind to her father, who was going blind; hence she would be kind to him. She did not object to beginning married life humbly, agreed with him that it would not take them long to rise. Moreover, she admired some of his traits of character. "This is necessary," he told her, "for one cannot love without admiring." Besides these "reasons," there was "an indescribable something which draws me toward you, which makes me desire to be in your company rather than *any* place else and makes me willing to leave any thing or *any* body else to be with you." Mary, too, found their separation unbearable, and her eagerness to see him increased as the opening of school approached. She confessed that she had kissed his picture but would not have to waste her sweetness on a likeness much longer! She had dreamed several times that she was back in Jacksonville and that she had run away to meet him "as in the days of yore." She thought their whole romance stranger than fiction: "Our friendship certainly progressed through many difficulties. Our introduction, stolen meetings at the infirmary, the notes, buggy rides, etc. and then the crisis! my discharge, restoration to Bullard's favor, all seem as much like fiction as facts."<sup>7</sup>

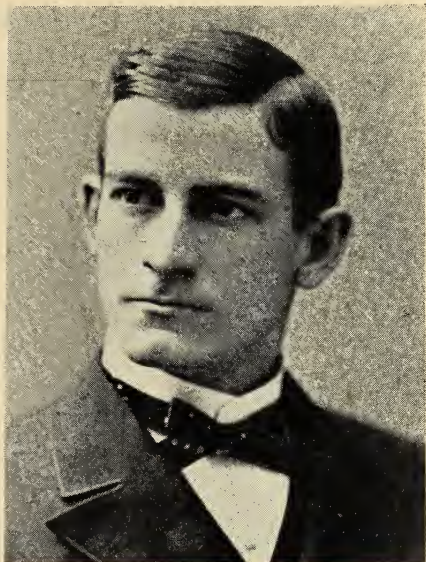
It was during this summer, when Bryan made his first stump speeches, that Mary learned that she had a rival—politics. Bryan not only worked in the local Democratic club but prepared speeches in behalf of William Springer, incumbent of the old Thirteenth Illinois Congressional District, who had studied law under his father. When Bryan asked Mary if she would read the speech he had written, she replied that she enjoyed reading "the orations of eloquent men." She added: "Wonder if a century from now, students will

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<sup>7</sup> Mary Baird to Bryan, late August, 1880, *Ibid.*



MARY ELIZABETH BAIRD



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

These pictures were taken in 1880 when they were students at Jacksonville.

not be studying the 'Orations of Bryan' as they do those of Cicero at the present time. Just think of it!"<sup>8</sup> His speech, which began "if ye have tears prepare to shed them now" and ended with "give me liberty or give me death,"<sup>9</sup> was duly delivered at length in the Salem courthouse square. When he asked his mother, who heard him, what she thought of it, she retorted sententiously: "Well, there were a few good places in it—where you might have stopped."<sup>10</sup> Undeterred, he stumped two counties before returning to school and then gave precedence to the forming of a Hancock Club in Salem over a long-expected visit to a patient Mary.

When school opened in the fall, Bullard permitted the exchange of letters once a week. In October, when Bryan won \$50 for placing second in an oratorical contest, he bought

<sup>8</sup> Mary Baird to Bryan, July 21, 1880, *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Bryan to Mary Baird, July 21, 1880, *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Mrs. Thomas Stinson Allen, Lincoln, Neb., July 11, 1948.

a ring, a garnet set in gold, and sent it to her. If she liked it, he would have a dedication cut inside the band, "Will to Mamie, June 4th, 1880." The date was that of their exchange of rings on the train. She liked it, and he had the dedication inscribed. By this time she was completely devoted to him, although she occasionally pulled him up short. Upon receipt of the ring she wrote: "There is a sort of quiet contentment that steals over me when I am with you, that nothing else can produce."

A year earlier she had thought that she would never find anyone whom she could trust enough to love. She had never loved anyone before, and if she did fall in love she certainly never meant to tell. "No, sir! I would carry that secret to my grave. Didn't believe in love anyway. . . . Such were my views and they were sincere ones too. That my opinions have changed is quite evident . . . . All the old contempt, the distrust, the bitterness is gone and their place is more than filled with pleasant thoughts of you. Which strange to say, I am willing to acknowledge."<sup>11</sup>

More often than not, she continued, she thought him "real nice." But when he said something she didn't like she flared forth. "Then *I was mad*," she wrote him once. "So *now* I want you to understand that I mean and *do* mean what I say." She had spent so much time answering his questions that on one occasion, when she faced an examination in "Mental," she said that she felt "as if I could give a better abstract of your letters than of the content of the Psychology." While her good humor returned quickly after her short bursts of anger, she could not resist toying with him just a bit. He was expected at her home for the Thanksgiving holidays, at which time he would ask for her hand. "Hope you will not be frightened though I imagine it would be a rather disagreeable task. Being a girl has a few advantages after all. However, you ask J.[ohn] B.[aird] for it, and if he fails to arrange

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<sup>11</sup> Mary Baird to Bryan, Oct. 17, 1880, Rohde Papers.

matters satisfactorily there is a party concerned who *can* and will manage him."<sup>12</sup>

Sensing her emphasis upon his "goodness," Bryan defended himself, saying, "So you were afraid that my intention to go to Perry Thanksgiving was formed from a sense of duty. Well, how shall I . . . assure you that it is pure unadulterated love that prompts me? . . . It is not the desire to do the 'proper thing.'"<sup>13</sup> Shortly after his arrival in Perry he and Mary approached Mr. Baird. Holding Mary's hand, Bryan fumbled nervously while seeking an appropriate opening. Almost unconsciously he turned to the Scriptures. "Mr. Baird," he said, "I have been reading Proverbs a good deal lately and find that Solomon says: 'Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing and obtaineth favour of the Lord.'" "Yes, I believe Solomon did say that," replied Mr. Baird, who was no mean student of the Bible, "But Paul suggests that while 'he that marrieth doeth well, he that marrieth not doeth better.'" Bryan was stumped for a few moments. Then, with a flash of inspiration he countered: "Solomon would be the best authority upon this point because Paul was never married while Solomon had a number of wives."<sup>14</sup> Baird took an instant liking to Bryan and approved of the engagement.

Bryan admitted that both he and Mary were self-willed and that trouble might arise between them; however, he was determined to give in to her rather than have any difference persist. In turn, she thought the harmony of their relations one of the strangest features of their acquaintance. "We have never had a fuss yet and they do say that the course of true love never runs smoothly," she wrote him on his twenty-first birthday, after which she addressed letters to him "L. M." instead of "L. B.,"—Little Man instead of Little Boy.

Not until May, 1881, with commencements approach-

<sup>12</sup> Mary Baird to Bryan, Oct. 24, 1880, *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Bryan to Mary Baird, Oct. 31, 1880, *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Mrs. Ruth Bryan Rohde to the writer, Oct. 14, 1948; William Jennings Bryan, *The First Battle* (Chicago, 1897), 46-47.

ing, did Bullard relent and permit personal meetings. Now they met "as of yore," in the home of President Tanner, of the College, and elsewhere, always properly chaperoned.<sup>15</sup> However, both Bryan and Mary worried what his mother, who would be at his commencement, would think of her. He tried humor. He could see himself at the wedding, he wrote, "A black silk plug towering upward from his massive, thick skull, and clutched in his hand a temperance pledge." She answered that she shuddered at the thought of meeting Mariah Bryan. "I tell you if I stood in her shoes I would just hate the girl who dared fall in love with my prize, 'the staff of my declining years.' I won't blame her if she tried to make us quarrel and separate. Am afraid it would be rather difficult task."<sup>16</sup> Although Mariah found no objection at all to Mary as a person, she thought her son should become self-supporting before getting married. Since his mother had never "been in his fix," he did not think she knew how many "almighty dollars" he needed, but when Mary suggested that they could get married and keep separate accounts he replied with an emphatic "No!" No woman, he said, could love a man if she performed her domestic duties and also paid for her own support. It would be his pleasure and duty to earn the money. He looked forward to the time when they would be together "all the time . . . not many years hence."<sup>17</sup>

Neither Bryan nor Mary suspected that three more years would pass before their dreams would be realized.

Facing extended separation from Mary, for he had decided to attend law school in Chicago for two years, Bryan reviewed his love for her, dissected it, and analyzed it, and decided that it would last forever, whether he was near her or not. He wrote her his conclusions:

I have argued the matter out and feel . . . confident that our hopes and

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<sup>15</sup> Bryan to Mary Baird, March 27, 1881; Mary Baird to Bryan, May 3, 1881, Rohde Papers.

<sup>16</sup> Mary Baird to Bryan, May 22, 1881, *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Bryan to Mary Baird, April 3, 1881, *Ibid.*

plans will be realized . . . for my conclusions are based on logic. We have the necessary requirements, namely, love, similarity of tastes, and harmony of dispositions . . . . There is only one thing which can come between two persons bound by the triple chain first mentioned, and that is misunderstanding. We have promised to be honest with each other, so if I do anything which you do not understand or dislike, please tell me frankly, and I will do the same; then we will not be alienated by long cherished ambiguous phrases. I did not enter this engagement rashly; it was the subject of much thought and prayer. We are satisfied with each other . . . let us be willing to help and forgive each other and we need have no doubts.<sup>18</sup>

Mary also analyzed their love. She had studied his qualities of character before she had agreed to their engagement, and she, too, believed that their love would last forever. Some of her schoolmates had commented that he was "too good"—he never smoked, drank, cursed, or danced. She was fully aware of the didacticism that marked him, but she never smoked, drank, cursed, or danced either, and she concluded that she preferred to marry a man who was "too good" than one "not good enough."<sup>19</sup>

For two more years, except for occasional visits during school vacations, the Bryan-Baird courtship proceeded on paper, with Mary warning Bryan to ease up from an extremely rigorous round of studies and activities which, added to persistent bad health and a horrible diet, sent him frequently to a sick bed. He replied that he would rather wear out than rust out, that he had but two ambitions in life, professional success and marriage. "Don't lessen my ambition," he warned her, "it is my great spur to action. Excite and encourage me to work hard so that I may develop powers which exert a great influence for good." He did not desire wealth as such, for, he wrote, "Success is the great perverter of virtue," but as soon as he could earn \$500 a year, enough to provide a decent standard of living, he desired to marry.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Bryan to Mary Baird, March 13, 1881, *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Mary Baird to Bryan, May 22, 1882, *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Bryan to Mary Baird, Jan. 15, March 19, Aug. 6, 13, Oct. 22, Dec. 24, 1882, Jan. 11, 1883, *Ibid.*

Two years of separation strengthened rather than loosened the ties that bound Mary and "Will" together. He would not dare look at another girl. "Flirting, that is, intentionally gaining the affections of another and then throwing them away, is the one unpunished sin," he wrote, and he reminded Mary that "Our lips did not meet until the day of our formal engagement."<sup>21</sup> She devoted herself, meantime, to learning how she could be a good wife to him, and she had her troubles. "You would laugh to see my tugging away," she wrote. "I now milk indiscriminately—sometimes the stream hit Pa, sometimes the cow's legs occasionally goes in the bucket. Pa says my object is to remove the milk—saving it is of no consequence." Yet she was in earnest about learning how to be a good cook and housekeeper. One letter in particular is extremely revealing of her character:

Have been looking into the future L. B. and see my life work, the Lord permitting, is to be a helper and make L. B.'s life as happy as possible. So, am going to get Yo [her father] to let me do the work for several weeks for practice—learn where and how to save steps, the way to bake bread, etc. I hope, L. B. this will stand as a strong proof of my love, if additional evidence is needed, for *naturally* I do not like house-work, and before I knew you had almost resolved *never* to do any. I am practical enough to see that repeated avowals of affection would not hold your devotion as effectually as a neat, tidy, house and well cooked food. So leaving my preference in the lurch I am determined to learn all I can.<sup>22</sup>

Bryan's insistence upon becoming self-supporting was only one reason that postponed marriage. Another was the rivalry for Mary on the part of her mother, a psychoneurotic whose complaints of ills real or imagined increased as the time of Mary's marriage approached. Any criticism by Bryan provoked greater loyalty from Mary and the response that she willingly undertook to care for her mother, although she confessed to Bryan that she found the going pretty tough: ". . . there's no use talking about it," she wrote him, "for

<sup>21</sup> Bryan to Mary Baird, Jan. 29, Feb. 26, April 27, 1882, *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Mary Baird to Bryan, Nov. 8, 1882, *Ibid.*

it only makes the tears chase each other down my nose till I can hardly write, and doesn't do any good either." Bryan wondered often if Mrs. Baird would ever be ready to give Mary up.<sup>23</sup>

Upon graduation and admittance to the bar, in the spring of 1883, Bryan used his newly acquired notarial seal to attest his love for Mary:

I, W. J. Bryan, a Notary Public in and for the county of Cook, State of Illinois, do hereby certify that I this day appeared before myself and being duly sworn deposed and said that I loved and do love Mamie E. Baird better than I do any one else in the world and further that I always will love her will be good to her and contribute as largely as possible to her happiness and usefulness.

In testimony whereof I witness my hand and notarial seal.

s/s W. J. BRYAN  
Notary Public<sup>24</sup>

Bryan's beginnings as a lawyer, in Jacksonville, came nowhere close to providing the \$500 a year he believed necessary to support marriage. When he reported his ill fortune, Mary encouraged him: "Don't be discouraged in your work dearie. Father and I were talking about you last night and he said you were going 'through the narrows' now and would have it pretty hard for a while."<sup>25</sup> In December, 1883, after they had been engaged for three and a half years, he wrote her that he would get her a gold thimble as a Christmas gift "if he had the money." He had to borrow from his mother for six months before his income barely sufficed for him to live alone, and it was not until the spring of 1884 that he felt himself emerging from the narrows. In June he borrowed enough from his mother to purchase a lot near the college campus and had plans drawn for the dream cottage he would build before he married. In September he bought the wed-

<sup>23</sup> Bryan to Mary Baird, Oct. 9, 1882, Feb. 11, 1883; Mary Baird to Bryan, Sept. 24, 1882, *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Bryan, *Memoirs*, 231.

<sup>25</sup> Mary Baird to Bryan, July 11, 1883, Rohde Papers.

ding ring and set the date for October 1,<sup>26</sup> five years after they had met originally, four years after their engagement.

The wedding ceremony was performed in the Baird home before a small group. Dr. Tanner, president of Illinois College, officiated; brother Charles Bryan was the best man; and one of Mary's school friends was the bridesmaid. John Baird was at his amiable best. Mrs. Baird, as expected, felt ill and cried. Nevertheless, the wedding went off smoothly, with Bryan slipping on Mary's finger a ring inscribed with a motto representing the date of their engagement and of their wedding, "Won, 1880—One, 1884."<sup>27</sup> The forty years of happily married life that followed proved their conclusion that theirs was a love that would last forever.

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<sup>26</sup> Bryan to Mary Baird, July 14, September 22, 1884, *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Two years earlier, Mary had written Bryan: "I don't see, dearie, how I can bear to have your letters destroyed after we are married—hadn't we better put them in a little trunk and put them in the attic?" Mary Baird to Bryan, December 3, 1882, *Ibid.* After the wedding, the letters were stored in the Baird attic. Later, Mrs. Bryan gave them to her daughter, Ruth, who kindly made them available to the writer.

# CHARLES E. HOVEY: EDUCATOR AND SOLDIER

BY HELEN E. MARSHALL

SHORTLY after their wedding on October 9, 1854, Charles Hovey and his bride set out for their new home in Illinois. Neither had ever been west of the Berkshires and Peoria seemed a long way from Framingham, Massachusetts, where for the past two years Hovey had been principal of the Framingham Academy and High School and Harriette Farnham Spofford had been "preceptress." The journey would be partly by rail and partly by boat and might end by wagon. Charles and Harriette Hovey laughed and were gay. To the animated little woman with the flashing black eyes and the handsome man at her side, the West was a magic word of opportunity.

Charles Hovey was to be principal of a Boys Stock School recently organized by a group of Peoria's public-spirited citizens. In 1850 a similar school had been organized for girls and had proved an educational and financial success.<sup>1</sup> In February, 1854, the stockholders had met in Haskell's Hall and outlined plans and elected officers. Arrangements were soon concluded for the erection of a building.

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Wells, *The Schools and the Teachers of Early Peoria* (Peoria, 1900), 96, 102-103.

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Meanwhile inquiries were sent to the East for a capable man to direct the school. Charles Hovey's name was presented and he was accepted. Here was an opportunity to organize a school, to work in an atmosphere untrammelled by tradition. Harriette Hovey shared in her husband's enthusiasms. He was a capable and ambitious man and she would do all that she could to help him.<sup>2</sup> Hovey had been graduated from Dartmouth in 1852. It had been his ambition to take up law but instead he turned to teaching. His experiences at Framingham were so happy, and his contacts with rising young educators so stimulating that his thoughts would not turn toward law again for many years.

Charles Hovey was born in Thetford, Vermont, April 26, 1827. He was one of the eleven children of Alfred and Abigail Howard Hovey. The father was a farmer and he sent his seven sons and four daughters to the village school when there was one available. Teachers were scarce and when young Charles developed unusual skills in reading, spelling, and arithmetic at the age of fifteen, the members of a school board up in the hills waived the matter of age and employed him as their teacher at \$9.50 a month and board and lodging among the patrons in turn.

After two years he advanced to a village school at a salary of \$20 a month and "board round." The town became deeply involved in the Millerite or Second Advent frenzy of 1843. From Friday night to Monday morning Miller's disciples used the school building day and night. Although the disciples were quite indifferent about the progress their children made educationally, they liked the young teacher and insisted he join and "go up" with them. When Hovey failed to get excited over the impending end of the world, his popularity began to wane and his pupils "waxed perverse." Hovey was ostracized socially and his confidence fled. He managed to teach the year out but later he confessed it was a failure

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<sup>2</sup> Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises* (Normal, Ill., 1956), 30.

and when it ended a load rolled off his spirit, "bigger than fell from the back of Bunyan's pilgrim."<sup>3</sup>

Disillusioned, young Hovey "took to the woods" and secured employment in a lumber mill. Being tall but not looking particularly strong, his fellow lumber hands disparaged his ability. He smarted under their rough jokes and determined not to be dubbed twice a failure. Valiantly he took his turn at felling trees, tending mill, and rafting lumber. Although he tried to give himself over completely to the mastery of the millwright's trade and of navigation he could not exclude the "bitter memory." Becoming a good lumberjack would never compensate for failing as a teacher. He began to want to try himself in the schoolroom again. The opportunity came, and in a short time confidence and self-esteem were restored.<sup>4</sup>

In 1848, at the age of twenty-one he was admitted to Dartmouth, and by teaching school three or four months a year to pay expenses, he managed to graduate at the end of four years. Then, at Framingham his life had been enriched, as he said, by association with "cultured people," "wonderfully intelligent" students and the preceptress, ever "a paragon of the graces."

Flushed with success, the joy of new found love, and mounting ambition, Charles Hovey arrived in Peoria convinced that for him a career was just beginning. Peoria, an old river town, experienced new growth and vigor with the coming of the steamboat, the railways, and the great westward migration. In 1850 it had a population of only around five thousand but in the decade to follow it would treble in size. When the Hoveys arrived, the population was probably eight or ten thousand but there was no school system as in other Illinois towns. Prior to the establishment of the stock

<sup>3</sup> Charles E. Hovey, "Autobiography of Gen. C. E. Hovey," in John W. Cook and James V. McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Illinois* (Normal, Ill., 1882), 28-46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

schools, sporadic dames schools were held in the spare room of a home, a church, or the second floor of a store building. A lawyer or doctor just opening an office might for a time offer his services as a teacher. Some teachers who curried social favor disdained taking pupils at large and for higher tuition rates conducted select schools. In the Krim or lower part of the city where many Germans had settled, private schoolmasters conducted their schools in German. Little teaching was done anywhere in Peoria above the elementary level.<sup>5</sup>

When the building for the Boys Stock School was finally completed and ready for classes on November 27, the enrollment was 119. In addition to Mrs. Hovey, who taught classes in grammar, there were two other regular teachers, two assistants, and special teachers who came in to teach German and music.<sup>6</sup>

On December 26-28, 1854, following the opening of the Boys Stock School, the annual meeting of the State Teachers Institute,<sup>7</sup> organized in Bloomington the previous December, was held in Peoria. Hovey attended and met the leading educators of the state, among them Simeon Wright of Franklin Grove, Newton Bateman of Jacksonville, the Rev. John F. Brooks of Springfield,<sup>8</sup> William H. Powell of LaSalle, and Daniel Wilkins of Bloomington, and State Superintendent of Public Instruction Ninian W. Edwards,<sup>9</sup> together with former teachers such as Jonathan Turner of Jacksonville, Bronson

<sup>5</sup> Wells, *Schools and Teachers of Early Peoria*, 19-95.

<sup>6</sup> Cook and McHugh, *History of the Illinois State Normal*, 31.

<sup>7</sup> The name of Illinois State Teachers Association was adopted on Dec. 26, 1855. Eighty years later it was changed to Illinois Education Association. Irving F. Pearson, "The History of the Illinois Education Association" [mimeographed] (Springfield, Ill., 1953?), 5.

<sup>8</sup> John F. Brooks was one of the Yale Band of seven theological students who in 1829 subscribed their names to a solemn pledge to devote their lives to the cause of Christ in the distant state of Illinois. John W. Cook, *Educational History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1912), 295.

<sup>9</sup> The General Assembly at its special session in 1854 passed legislation separating the office of superintendent of public instruction from that of the secretary of state. On March 15, Gov. Joel A. Matteson appointed Ninian W. Edwards, son of the former Gov. Ninian Edwards, to serve until the next general election in 1856. *Ibid.*, 53.

Murray from LaSalle County, and W. F. M. Arny of Bloomington who had taken up more lucrative pursuits but retained their interest in education. The young Easterner was greatly impressed with the vision of the schoolmen and disturbed by the imposing number of textbook publishers and school supply men who were scrambling for contracts and trying to get control of the convention. It was all very revealing and challenging. As yet Illinois had "no free school law, no normal schools . . . no state university, no high schools."<sup>10</sup>

He listened intently as Turner described his plan for a great industrial university which would embody departments of agriculture, science, the professions and education. He noted the disapproval of the college men who wanted the seminary funds distributed to the denominational colleges already in existence, Shurtleff, Knox, McKendree, and Wesleyan, to enable them to offer normal school training. He was entirely in sympathy with the association's program for free public schools. An item on the agenda which intrigued him especially was the matter of establishing a professional periodical. It was estimated that such a journal would immediately command at least a thousand subscribers. It was voted to establish a monthly journal to be called *The Illinois Teacher*. It was just the kind of magazine that Hovey longed to edit, but being a new man in the state he was not in a position to advance his candidacy. He would bide his time. Temporarily there would be eight district editors, each responsible for an issue. Wilkins and Arny of Bloomington were chosen managing editors and the *Bloomington Pantagraph* would be the publisher.<sup>11</sup>

Hovey's school prospered; pupils and patrons were pleased with the institution,<sup>12</sup> but he was not content. He was

<sup>10</sup> George Patrick, "History of the Illinois State Teachers' Association" (M. A. thesis, University of Chicago, Aug., 1928), quoted in Pearson, "History of the Illinois Education Association," 5.

<sup>11</sup> Cook and McHugh, *History of the Illinois State Normal*, 34.

<sup>12</sup> The net profit for the first year's operation was \$307.86. C. Ballance, *The History of Peoria, Illinois* (Peoria, 1870), 89.

interested in the entire community. He wanted to see all children given equal educational opportunity. The one public school in Peoria in 1854, a long narrow crumbling brick structure, was located in a stagnant swampy section of town. It was disgraceful for a city as wealthy and populous as Peoria. The head of the public school envied Hovey and resented him. Soon the Boys Stock School was labeled a rich man's and an aristocrat's school which relied on show and clothes. In contrast the public school was proclaimed "the people's school eschewing all show and relying on solid merit." With each blast at Hovey's school, the facts were reasserted. A terrible wrong was being perpetrated upon the children of Peoria.

The Boys Stock School had barely attained its legal corporation status when Hovey approached Judge Onslow Peters, Judge Jacob Gale, A. P. Bartlett, and other influential stockholders. He soon convinced them of the need of a sensible system for the organization, conduct, and support of the city's schools. It was decided quietly to put through the legislature a bill that would amend the city charter and enable the citizens of Peoria to elect a school board and establish a system of free public schools.<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, Hovey went to Springfield as often as he could and openly lobbied for state-wide free public schools.<sup>14</sup> He concurred with Ninian W. Edwards in his defense of the Common School Bill. "Education," Edwards had said, "must not be left to chance nor to private enterprise; it must be *absolutely secured* by timely and judicious legislation. It is cheaper to sustain schools than poorhouses and courts and prisons." How heartily Hovey agreed that the schoolroom should be made "as free and as much common property as our public highways!"<sup>15</sup> The Peoria bill was passed almost

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Harriette Farnham Spofford Hovey to Manfred J. Holmes, Washington, D. C., Jan. 28, 1913, Holmes Papers (MSS, Illinois State Normal University).

<sup>15</sup> Cook, *Educational History of Illinois*, 55.

before the citizens realized what had been going on. Later in the session the provision for state-wide public schools was enacted.

Peoria elected an excellent first school board with A. P. Bartlett as chairman. Within the year the private school buildings were purchased. The Female Association's Girls Stock School building was used for the high school and the Boys Stock School was made into a grammar school and given over to Mrs. Hovey to organize.<sup>16</sup> Hovey was named principal of the high school and superintendent of the entire system. He worked hard and the board stood back of him as courses of study were planned, teachers selected, and new buildings constructed.<sup>17</sup>

Word of the transformation of Peoria schools spread over the state. Hovey had been in Illinois barely a year and he had made a name for himself both as a successful lobbyist and as a school administrator. In Springfield at the December, 1855 meeting of the State Teachers Association he was elected president.

When the report for the *Illinois Teacher* was presented it was disillusioning. Instead of a thousand subscriptions the managing editors were able to report only three hundred paid. It had been neither a financial success nor a work of printer's art. The paper was of poor quality and often the issues had been late. The association was dissatisfied with the plan of a monthly editor but it was reluctant to give up the project of a sorely needed teachers' organ. A caucus was held and it was decided to offer Hovey the job of editor and give him all responsibility for copy, bills, and subscriptions; if there were profits, he should have them. When the former publisher learned of the proposition submitted to Hovey, he grimly prophesied, "If Hovey has got fifteen hundred dollars

<sup>16</sup> Wells, *Schools and Teachers of Early Peoria*, 102-105.

<sup>17</sup> Peoria had the second of the free high schools in Illinois. It opened in June, 1856, with Hovey as principal. The first was opened in West Jacksonville by Newton Bateman in 1851. The third was opened in Chicago in the fall of 1856.

to throw away, he has now an excellent opportunity to do so."<sup>18</sup>

Hovey hesitated briefly. He had little time to spare now but a year before it had been the job he truly wanted. A county commissioner proposed that a banner be presented to the county which should turn in the largest number of subscribers and that a copy of Colton's *Atlas* be given to the individual turning in the largest list. Hovey, fearful of disappointing his friends, agreed to take the editorship.<sup>19</sup> At home he talked over the matter with his wife. She agreed to take charge of subscriptions and personally to mail out the journals. N. C. Nason, a printer of exceptional taste, scholarship, and rare professional skill, was engaged to print the *Teacher* on clean white paper. Hovey's caucus friends kept faith and subscriptions came tumbling in, nearly two thousand of them before the year was up.<sup>20</sup>

Hovey determined that the *Illinois Teacher* should be a functional journal. It would not only give counsel to the classroom teacher but would also provide professional leadership.

The stimulus brought to the common schools by enactment of the Free School Law was creating a demand for a higher grade of teachers and more of them. Hovey had difficulty in procuring teachers for the schools of Peoria. One city in Illinois offered traveling expenses in addition to a liberal salary to qualified Eastern teachers who would come west and teach in its schools. Teachers were the crying need of Illinois schools. Why not direct the *Illinois Teacher* toward solving this problem?

Hovey recalled the discussions at Peoria relative to the college and seminary funds. As he said years later,

Why could not these funds be used to endow a Normal School? I could find no valid objection, nor did anyone else suggest a good reason why they

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<sup>18</sup> Cook and McHugh, *History of the Illinois State Normal*, 34.

<sup>19</sup> *Illinois Teacher*, Vol. III, no. 1 (Jan., 1857), 21.

<sup>20</sup> Cook, *Educational History of Illinois*, 518; Cook and McHugh, *History of the Illinois State Normal*, 34.

could not be so used. On the other hand, those teachers with whom I had opportunity to confer, favored the idea.<sup>21</sup>

Articles on teacher shortage and the importance of legislative action relative to the preparation of teachers were featured in the *Illinois Teacher* throughout the year 1856.

Hovey and others in charge of planning the program of the State Teachers Association meeting in Chicago, December 23, 24, and 25, slanted the addresses and discussion toward educating teachers. Among the speakers was W. H. Wells, who had recently come from the Westfield Normal School in Massachusetts to be superintendent of the Chicago Schools and to direct the city's high school and normal, and Henry Barnard, editor of the *American Journal of Education* and former state superintendent of schools in Connecticut and principal of the normal school at New Britain.

When the resolutions were presented on the second day, the first one resolved that the educational interests of the state demanded the immediate establishment of a normal school and recommended that the next legislature appropriate a sufficient sum annually for the next five years to found such a seminary of learning.<sup>22</sup> In the discussion which followed, Newton Bateman read a letter from Jonathan B. Turner, spokesman for the Industrial League which had favored a normal school with an agricultural department, in which he concluded, "It is high time, my friends, that you had your Normal School, whether we ever get an Agricultural Department to it or not. Let us all take hold together and try to obtain it, in such form as you may, on the whole, think best."<sup>23</sup>

That Hovey's work in behalf of advancing education was appreciated is noted in the action taken by the institute to reimburse him for the loss he had sustained when the October issue of the *Illinois Teacher* had been destroyed in a fire that

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>22</sup> *Illinois Teacher*, Jan., 1857, p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> J. B. Turner to the Illinois Teachers Institute assembled at Chicago, Jacksonville, Dec. 20, 1856, *Ibid.*, 14.

consumed the office of the printers, Nason and Hill.<sup>24</sup> On Thursday evening, December 25, five hundred persons crowded into the dining room and parlors of the Tremont House to partake of the banquet provided by the teachers of Chicago. Harriette Hovey and her friend, Mary Brooks, beamed proudly as Hovey took his place as one of the two toastmasters who alternated in reading toasts from the opposite ends of the great hall. It was a gala affair. After toasts to various committees, distinguished guests, the railroads who supplied return tickets free, the press, the old-fashioned schoolma'am, the institutes, "Our Future Normal School—the crowning act of our next Legislature," and the "*Illinois Teacher*, Star of the West, may it never set," there were loud cries for a speech from the editor. Hovey, holding up a copy of the magazine, modestly responded, "There is the *Illinois Teacher*, look at it and subscribe for it!"<sup>25</sup>

Later he offered two of the numerous volunteer toasts, one to "Mine Host of the Tremont House," a Chicago hotel that had provided free lodging to at least twelve of the visiting teachers, and the other to W. H. Haskell. He had toasted Hovey, the retiring president of the association, city superintendent, and editor of the *Illinois Teacher* as "a harp of a thousand strings."<sup>26</sup>

By the time the bill to create a normal school reached the floors of the General Assembly, it had been pared down from the recommended \$150,000 for a building and an annual appropriation for maintenance to a point where it was irresistible to the economy-minded legislators. With a provision for awarding the location to the city offering the best inducement in the way of site and building, with maintenance and operation costs to be derived from interest on the Seminary and University funds, the project would not cost the taxpayers a cent. The bill also specified the names of twelve

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

persons, among them Hovey, who were to constitute a Board of Education to manage the institution.<sup>27</sup>

This bill creating the Normal University was signed by Governor William Bissell on February 18, 1857, and the scramble for sites began. As a citizen of Peoria, Hovey hoped the location would be awarded to his town but as editor of the *Illinois Teacher*, he rationalized, "If Peoria can furnish a better building, and better schools for model schools, than her sister cities, she expects it; if not, Peoria, Springfield, Bloomington, and Jacksonville will, most likely, compete for it."<sup>28</sup> Civic leaders of Peoria promptly circulated a subscription paper and by May had pledges of \$80,000 and options on three sites on the bluff overlooking the Illinois River and the city. They had not reckoned with men like Jesse Fell and John F. Eberhart, currently a guest in Fell's home.

Eberhart disliked Peoria and declared it "a whisky town, a river town, unhealthy and unfit for a normal school." On a visit he learned the amount of the Peoria pledges and on his return to Bloomington told Fell, who had led in the local drive for subscriptions. A campaign for safely exceeding the Peoria bid was made and, while Eberhart went to Chicago to obtain support of Chicago members of the Board, Fell attended a citizens' meeting in Peoria and learned the facts for himself. He made the forty-mile drive home that night and the next morning began a canvass of donors. He succeeded in getting the Commissioners to pledge McLean County swamp lands estimated at \$75,000.

The Board of Education inspected sites at Bloomington, Batavia, Washington, and Peoria and when the bids were opened in Peoria on May 7, 1857, it was found that Bloomington's exceeded that of Peoria by \$60,000.<sup>29</sup> It was un-

<sup>27</sup> *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], Jan. 30, 1857.

<sup>28</sup> C. E. Hovey, "Normal University, *alias*, Normal School," *Illinois Teacher*, Feb., 1857, p. 67.

<sup>29</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois . . . A. D. 1857 & 1858* (Bloomington, Ill., 1858), 7. The deliberations were held in Peoria, May 7, 1857.

believable. Hovey proposed an amendment to Wesley Sloan's resolution accepting Bloomington's bid: that if the citizens of Bloomington did not guarantee the precarious McLean County swamp land subscription within sixty days, the location would be awarded to Peoria.<sup>30</sup>

Hovey and Dr. George P. Rex of Perry were appointed to visit normals and high schools in the East and to report at the next meeting in June on buildings, courses of study, and matters of general concern in the management of a normal school. At that meeting a principal would be selected.

The Bloomington delegation of Daniel Wilkins, Fell, Leonard, and E. J. Lewis, editor of the *Daily Pantagraph*, hurried home to secure guarantors. They had no difficulty and a week later on May 15, Abraham Lincoln, Esquire, of Springfield, acting as attorney for the Board, drew up the bond guaranteeing that citizens of Bloomington would pay to the Board \$14,000 on August 1, 1857; \$14,000 on November 1, 1857; \$14,000 on February 1, 1858; \$14,000 on May 1, 1858; and \$14,000 on August 1, 1858, to assure erection of the building on the McLean County subscription. Eighty-five citizens pledged from \$500 to \$5,000 and in the event of any actual default agreed to prorate the loss according to the sums opposite their names.<sup>31</sup>

Whether Hovey aspired to become principal of the new normal school from the beginning is not known. Prior to the first meeting of the Board on March 26, 1857, he editorialized in the *Illinois Teacher* that much of the success of the enterprise would depend on the man chosen to head the faculty:

WHO SHALL BE PRINCIPAL OF THE NORMAL UNIVERSITY?

We can not answer this question, but we can say what "manner of man" ought to be. He ought to be a resident of Illinois, acquainted with her people and her schools; he ought to be a thorough scholar, an accomplished teacher, of large experience, good common sense, gentlemanly bearing, great executive ability, a shrewd judge of human nature, a skillful disciplinarian,

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, May 15, 1857, pp. 25-27.

of tireless enthusiasm, great directness and oneness of purpose, and in him should be wrapped up a great, big soul.<sup>32</sup>

Hovey's friends could not mistake the likeness to himself but, as a member of the Board and the committee on location, he was not ready to avow himself a candidate.

He felt, however, that his chances were good. It was well-known that Jesse Fell of Bloomington was privately campaigning to secure Horace Mann, president of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and former secretary of the Board of Education for the State of Massachusetts. Fell had gone so far as to solicit pledges from businessmen sufficient to assure Mann a salary of \$2,500, the amount he would ask if chosen to head the school.<sup>33</sup>

About a week before the June meeting, protests against Mann were heard. Proslavery advocates branded him as a "damned abolitionist" and recalled how he had assailed Daniel Webster on the Compromise of 1850. The Methodists, very powerful in Illinois, branded Mann's religious views as unorthodox and dangerous. A faction in Peoria rankled over its failure to get the school. A member warned Eberhart that it was a matter of political necessity that an Illinoisan be named principal. "If you elect Mann, we'll kill him," he threatened. Appraised of the situation, Mann withdrew.<sup>34</sup>

Members of the Board had also had some correspondence with William Phelps, principal of the New Jersey State Normal at Trenton. When the votes were cast on June 23, five were for Phelps, and six were for Hovey. It was moved that the election of Hovey be declared unanimous. His salary was set at \$2,500. As the meeting was about to adjourn, Hovey informed the Board of his acceptance.<sup>35</sup>

In the report on the schools that he and Dr. Rex had

<sup>32</sup> *Illinois Teacher*. March. 1857, p. 107.

<sup>33</sup> John F. Eberhart to Manfred Holmes, undated, Holmes Papers.

<sup>34</sup> Frances Milton I. Morehouse, *The Life of Jesse W. Fell* (*University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, Vol. V, no. 2. Urbana, 1916), 46.

<sup>35</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Bloomington, June 23, 1857, pp. 11-12.

visited, Hovey presented the philosophy which he felt should underlie a school for preparing teachers. In the July issue of the *Illinois Teacher*, much of which had already gone to press, Hovey showed himself conversant with the normal school idea as developed in Europe as well as in America.<sup>36</sup> "A Normal School," he wrote, "signifies a school where the principles of teaching are taught, and where the art of teaching is exemplified in practice." "Education," he declared, "must be moral as well as physical or intellectual. The heart must be cared for as well as the mind and the body."<sup>37</sup>

Hovey hurried home to Peoria to tell his wife and to resign all the positions he held except that of editor of the *Illinois Teacher*, and that he would give up as soon as a successor could be found. Before a month had passed he and his wife and infant son were established in Bloomington. There was much work to be done: a curriculum had to be organized, teachers employed, temporary quarters arranged, and advertising sent out.

The afternoon that he had been named principal, the Board had approved the construction of a building large enough to accommodate three to five hundred students, three stories high, exclusive of basement, the latter to be of stone, the remainder of brick.<sup>38</sup> To satisfy the donors and guarantors it was agreed that the building should be started as soon as possible.

The architect, George P. Randall of Chicago, with amazing skill quickly combined the ideas of Hovey, Board members, and influential persons in the community. The building should be grand, imposing, and dignified. It emerged from the drawing board a three and one-half story edifice with a columned veranda across each side and a dome-crowned tower rising a hundred and fifty feet above the ground. Despite the architect's misgivings, this piece of mongrel architecture

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<sup>36</sup> *Illinois Teacher*, July, 1857, pp. 225-46.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 233, 245.

<sup>38</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education*, Bloomington, June 23, 1857, p. 11.

promised to be a thing of beauty. On September 29 the cornerstone was laid.

Classes were scheduled to begin on October 5 in temporary quarters in Major's Hall, at the corner of Front and East streets. Hovey had been much impressed by the Bridgewater Normal and felt fortunate when he was able to secure as his assistant Ira Moore, one of its graduates who for the past year had been working with Superintendent Wells in the Chicago Normal School. Together they got things ready for the opening. Students' desks, chairs, and charts were ordered from Boston. When these did not arrive on schedule, tables and benches had to be improvised from rough wood.

Enoch Gastman, a mature, ruddy-faced youth who walked with a limp, was the first student. Hovey greeted him. Soon he was joined by others. Twenty-nine students enrolled before the day was over and by the end of the term the number grew to 127. To provide an enriched curriculum and at the same time conserve his limited financial resources, Hovey employed part-time teachers for special subjects such as the classics and music.

Hovey believed a model school where superior teaching could be observed was essential to the successful operation of a training school for teachers. For this purpose he invited Miss Mary Brooks of Brimfield, Illinois, who had studied with him and taught in the Peoria schools, to come to Bloomington and open a model school. A room on the second floor of Major's Hall would be available and she would receive in lieu of salary the money which the pupils would pay as tuition.

The Model School opened on November 2, 1857. To Hovey's embarrassment there were only seven pupils, and one of these was unable to pay the fifty cents a week which was charged for tuition. It was decided that the child should not be turned away. Miss Brooks was optimistic, saying that when Bloomington citizens learned more of the work of her school

there would be sufficient pupils to put it on a paying basis. Both she and Hovey were gratified that by the end of the term there was a waiting list of pupils.

Although the attendance at Major's Hall and the fine reports on the instruction given there augured well for the normal school, there were other portents that were frustrating and foreboding. Barely had the cornerstone been laid when the panic of 1857 struck. Bickering, gloom, and repudiation of obligations closed in like a dense fog where a few weeks before there had been enthusiasm, optimism, and goodwill.<sup>39</sup> The Board was unable to collect the necessary subscriptions to pay even the first installment of \$7,000 due the contractors, Martin and Loburg. When no funds were forthcoming the latter "reasoned that if the subscribers to the building fund, in the first flush of victory, while the ink was hardly dry with which they recorded their promise to pay," would not or could not meet their obligation, they could not be relied upon, and the sooner work was stopped the better.

On December 1, labor on the building was formally suspended. Although the depression of 1857 was not so severe in Illinois as that of 1837 had been, there was sufficient deflation in land values that many of the subscribers were financially ruined. A few cautious men such as David Davis had subscribed their lands with deeds contingent upon completion of the building and could not legally be held responsible for any part of the subscription. Meanwhile weeds grew up around the stone foundation. A year passed. Bloomington subscribers had defaulted. What action would be taken by the forthcoming General Assembly? Would the location be changed? Would the charter be repealed? There were many rumors.

Hovey did not think the Board could go before the legislature and ask for an appropriation to complete the build-

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<sup>39</sup> C. A. Harper, "Old Main," *Illinois State Normal University Bulletin*, Vol. XLIV, no. 4 (Sept., 1946), 12.

ing because one of the considerations that prompted the passage of the Normal University Act was that the cost would not be levied against the taxpayers of the state. To ask for assistance at this time might not only jeopardize the location but the very existence of the school.

The site had been given and accepted in good faith. A number of donors had paid their subscriptions or were ready to comply with the terms of their pledges; most of those who had failed did so only because of financial reverses over which they had no control. The McLean County subscription was to be paid from the proceeds of the swamp lands. This subscription alone was nearly equal to the greatest bonus offered elsewhere. It was sure to be paid sometime but presently it was unavailable unless it could be used as collateral upon which to borrow money. Nobody had been found willing to loan money on that or any other security that the Board could offer.

Hovey, as chairman of the building committee, got authorization for sending an agent east to effect a sale of the county lands. It was expected that State Treasurer James Miller, a wealthy resident of Bloomington who was well acquainted with the value of the lands, would go east to find a purchaser. He declined to go as did several other prominent persons. Chauncy M. Cady, part-time instructor in vocal music, was willing to go. He took with him a list and description of the lands. He made something of a stir at first and quickly lined up a buyer, but he was powerless to close the deal without bonds for the deeds which could be transferred by a simple endorsement.

Cady appealed to Hovey, who tried to get bonds from the county authorities, but they would enter into no transaction except for a direct sale of the land. Hovey saw but one alternative and that was to buy the swamp lands himself, making a low cash payment and giving time notes for the balance. The bonds could then be disposed of as he saw fit. He bought

as much land as he could and his notes amounted to \$25,000 or thereabouts.<sup>40</sup> These notes were turned over to the treasurer of the Board as part payment of the McLean County subscription and then paid out to various creditors for labor and material.

By the time Cady got word of the transaction, the parties with whom he was negotiating were no longer in a position to buy and he failed to find other clients. Hovey was in a delicate and difficult spot. He had made an unauthorized purchase on his personal credit. The Board held his notes and he had no money with which to meet his obligations. Ruin and dishonor faced him. To add to his torment, his two-year-old son, Edward, to whom he was deeply devoted, suddenly sickened and died. Mrs. Hovey was away at the time and Hovey had to bear the shock alone. He could not sleep nights. He walked the floor and for days would not talk to anyone about the house. His wife feared for his sanity.<sup>41</sup>

Through the connivance of a loyal friend, word spread that \$25,000 worth of the county swamp lands had been bought up by one party. The transaction grew with the telling. Soon there was a rising wave of interest in the purchase of McLean County lands. When asked about the matter, Hovey said that it was true and the lands would soon be gone. Through State Superintendent William H. Powell, state officers at Springfield—Secretary of State Ozias M. Hatch, State Auditor Jesse K. Dubois, and State Treasurer Miller—invested. By law swamp lands could not be sold for less than their appraised value but when it was rumored that state officials were buying up lands, others became interested. Enough money was secured to pay off the amount owed on the construction and to resume operations.

Work, however, could not go on without funds. Hovey and Samuel Moulton each borrowed a few thousand dollars.

<sup>40</sup> Cook and McHugh, *History of the Illinois State Normal*, 41-45.

<sup>41</sup> Harriette F. Hovey to David Felmley, Washington, D. C., Nov. 17, 1912, Holmes Papers.

Jesse and Kersey Fell and Charles and Richard Holder came forward and put their names to paper on which more money was obtained from time to time. Hovey went personally among the merchants of Bloomington soliciting credit for the contractor so that he might have the necessary building supplies and food and clothing for his family, and assuring them that when the legislature met the ensuing January, it would vote an appropriation to cover any deficiency in the funds for constructing the building.<sup>42</sup>

With a certain sense of achievement but not entire relief, Hovey watched the last brick laid on the morning of November 4, 1859. Although incomplete, enough of the building was finished in June, 1860 that commencement exercises were held in the auditorium on the third floor. The Major's Hall lease was terminated and in the fall classes opened in the new building—which was later known as Old Main.

Debt and worry hung over the school. The Board concurred with Hovey that now an appeal had to be made to the General Assembly. Hovey, Jesse Fell, and a committee of townspeople laid elaborate plans for a legislative visit to the school. The Chicago and Alton Railroad, ever anxious to win favor at Springfield, provided free transportation to and from Bloomington for the legislators and their friends. The teachers and pupils gave demonstrations of proficiency in mental arithmetic, geography, grammar, history, and other subjects. There was a dedication ceremony with music by a Springfield band which accompanied the legislators, an inspection of the building, and a noon "collation" prepared by a Bloomington caterer. At night there was a banquet in Royce's Hall followed by a grand ball in Phoenix Hall.<sup>43</sup> The legislators returned to the capital in "high spirits" and while still under the spell of Bloomington hospitality gener-

<sup>42</sup> Cook and McHugh, *History of the Illinois State Normal*, 45.

<sup>43</sup> *Weekly Pantagraph*, Jan. 30, 1861.

ously voted \$65,000 to reimburse the creditors and complete the building.<sup>44</sup>

Hovey now hoped to devote more time to the classroom and to proceed with the plans for his home which he expected would provide housing for sixteen or more students and would serve as a social center for the school. So far he had been able to plant only a scraggly hedge around his lot. Ira Moore had had to assume much of the teaching responsibilities while Hovey was looking after the construction of the building and the unrewarding business of pledge collection. Hovey had been adamant whenever a member of the Board suggested suits and foreclosures. "No," he said, the pledges had been made in good faith and he would be a party to no suit which would penalize and ruin a man for an honest act of generosity.

Hovey had proceeded slowly with the matter of the curriculum. He had not even had a catalog printed until 1860 when the first class was about to graduate. The course of study had been based on the conventional patterns of teacher education as practiced in the eastern normals and at St. Louis under Richard Edwards. But before Hovey could make any radical change in the curriculum, if indeed he contemplated any, dire events took place on the national horizon which in turn were to have profound effects on Hovey's career and the history of the school.

In the fall of 1860 Normal University students had participated in the Wide Awake torchlight parades and rejoiced when Abraham Lincoln was elected. Many of the students knew him personally. Avidly they followed the succession of events—Buchanan's address to Congress, the secession of South Carolina, the organization of the Confederacy, and the inauguration of President Lincoln. Like thousands of other Americans they speculated on how long Major Anderson

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<sup>44</sup> A portion of this money was lost by the failure of many banks in 1861 and for this and other reasons the next General Assembly had to appropriate \$35,000 to clear the school of its debts. John A. H. Keith, ed., *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University, 1857-1907* (normal, 1907), 17.

would be able to hold out at Fort Sumter without reinforcements. Tension mounted. Hovey sensed the students' deep feeling for the Union.

When at last Sumter was fired upon and the flag had to be hauled down, their indignation knew no bounds. President Lincoln called for volunteers on Monday morning, April 15, and when a mass meeting was held at the courthouse in Bloomington that night students were in the crowd. At a dramatic moment William H. Harvey, veteran of the Mexican War and respected for his character and courage, threw open the south window on the west side of the courthouse, called for volunteers, and announced he would go with them. The impassioned youths pressed forward to sign their names to an enlistment paper. When the evening's muster was completed it included the names of five students from Normal University.<sup>45</sup> Two days later, when Governor Richard Yates issued a call for six regiments, the Bloomington company was promptly tendered. A week later the recruits entrained for Springfield where they were to make camp at the State Fairgrounds until called into action. Among them was Hovey's favorite pupil, the lovable Joseph Howell, a member of the first graduating class, who had replaced Mary Brooks in the Model School when she resigned to be married.

Hovey and Ira Moore discussed the possible effect of the call upon the normal school. The spring term had just begun. They did not want to see the school disrupted. The need for teachers in Illinois was critical, and after all Lincoln had called for only three-month enlistments. Hovey counseled the young men that the nation was served also by those who taught, but they were restless and missed Howell and Spaulding and Johnson and Clark and Prevost.<sup>46</sup> Were they shirking their duty to remain in school?

<sup>45</sup> "War Record of McLean County with Other Papers," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society*, Vol. I (Bloomington, Ill., 1899), 33; *Weekly Pantagraph*, April 24, 1861.

<sup>46</sup> Joseph G. Howell, Henry C. Prevost, Charles M. Clark, Hiram W. Johnson, and Justin L. Spaulding enlisted April 14, 1861. *Weekly Pantagraph*, April 24, 1861.

Hovey talked with the men in class, in the corridors, or wherever he found them in groups. He advised against immediate enlistment although he admitted that if war came they would all be needed. When that day came he would go with them. He hired John White as drillmaster to train the men in the manual of arms, and an old brickyard near the school was cleared for parade grounds. Almost every day the men drilled and the young women looked on admiringly. A few had guns but most of the men had to be content with make-believe weapons crudely carved from wood. Left, right, left, right! As spring wore on Hovey became more convinced that the Normal Rifles would probably be needed. Before the term ended, he, as captain, accepted on behalf of the Rifles a silken banner presented by the girls of the school.<sup>47</sup> On July 2, the Rifles disbanded, to be reassembled upon the call of their captain.

As soon as Hovey could get away he hurried to Washington to discuss with President Lincoln and Secretary of War Simon Cameron the possibility of a commission, and the command of a regiment of schoolmasters. He was accompanied by his Quaker friend, Jesse Fell, who wished to talk over the matter of some political appointments for some of Lincoln's Illinois friends. Congress met on July 4 and the President was authorized to accept the services of half a million volunteers for three years.<sup>48</sup> The ninety-day enlistments for the April volunteers were about to expire and by the time Hovey and Fell reached Washington there were cries for action: "On to Richmond. On to Richmond."

In a brief interview with President Lincoln, Hovey described his plan for a full regiment of normal students and teachers. Alert to the need of teachers on the home front, Lincoln was hesitant. A clash between the Union troops and those of the Confederacy encamped on Manassas Creek in

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, June 5, 1861.

<sup>48</sup> James Ford Rhodes, *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York, 1917), 47.

Virginia was imminent—the outcome might have far-reaching effect on the future. It was rumored that such an engagement would take place on Sunday, July 21.

Hovey and Fell joined the throng of picnicking congressmen and newspaper reporters who crossed over into Virginia to observe the battle. Bull Run turned into a rout and before noon they met the Union forces in retreat. Some of the carriages turned about immediately and joined the soldiers in the race back to the Potomac but Hovey and Fell went into action. Hovey grabbed an abandoned rifle and headed for the enemy. Fell who was fifty-three, and restrained somewhat by age as well as conscience, turned his attention to the wounded on the field and in the hastily improvised hospitals.<sup>49</sup>

When the Bloomington friends resumed their conversations with the President on Monday, Lincoln agreed to the formation of the teachers' regiment. Hovey hurried home to advise the Board and to put his affairs in order at home and at school. The day that he received his commission as Colonel he began mustering men into service. Ninety-four signed on August 15, sixty on August 20, and seventeen on August 21. Within four weeks nine hundred men enlisted in the Thirty-third Illinois Infantry.<sup>50</sup>

On August 30 the volunteers assembled at the State Fairgrounds in Springfield and organized under the command of Hovey. Forty-six of the volunteers had been students at Normal and twenty more had drilled with the Normal Rifles. Not all of the men waited to join the Schoolmasters' Regiment but enlisted in other regiments. The Normal Rifles mustered into service on August 21 became the nucleus of Company A and a member of Hovey's faculty, Leander H. Porter, teacher of grammar and language, became its captain. Professor Ira Moore became captain of Company G; Julian E. Bryant, who taught art, became a second lieutenant of Company E; and

<sup>49</sup> Morehouse, *Life of Jesse W. Fell*, 68.

<sup>50</sup> *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, 1900), Vol. II (1861-1866) 16th to 35th Regiments, pp. 612-53.

Henry Pope, one of Hovey's students, became captain of Company D. The Rev. Herman J. Eddy of the Bloomington Baptist Church became the regimental chaplain, and Board members, Dr. George P. Rex of Perry and Simeon Wright from Kinmundy, became respectively surgeon and quartermaster.<sup>51</sup> After the officers were elected, Colonel Hovey marched his men to Camp Butler to the quarters of Colonel T. G. Pitcher, U. S. mustering officer, where they solemnly took the oath and became a regiment in service.<sup>52</sup>

On September 17, the men in answer to a sudden call, "Fall in," heard that they would soon be moving to the front and should be ready to march at an hour's notice. Knapsacks, haversacks, and canteens were issued at once. The men threw their caps high into the air, ran, jumped, shouted and yelled until they were hoarse. Hovey had inspired his men with the sacredness of the cause, and they were eager to get to the front. "It appeared as though they thought the greatest events of a thousand eventful years had been combined and condensed into one brief moment of time, and the victory of them all given to the boys of the Thirty-third in those brief commands: 'To the front.' 'Prepare for active service.'"<sup>53</sup> At five o'clock the next day orders came, "Strike tents." According to rumor the men were to depart at once for Washington although it was well known that Colonel Hovey and the other officers wished to cast their fortune and the future of the regiment with the Western Army. Hovey remained in town, frantically telegraphing to Washington while Major Edward R. Roe remained in charge of preparations at the camp. The tents were struck, rolled up, and placed on the wagons. There was the final parade and review at Camp Butler, and the march to the railroad began. Suddenly the men were commanded

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 612.

<sup>52</sup> Isaac H. Elliott, *History of the Thirty-Third Regiment Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War 22nd August, 1861, to 7th December, 1865* (Gibson City, Ill., 1902), 8.

<sup>53</sup> Albert O. Marshall, *Army Life; From a Soldier's Journal*, 2d ed. (Joliet, Ill., 1884), 17.

to halt for a few minutes. The minutes became hours. The men spent the chilly night lying on the roadside, then returned to Butler for an early breakfast before resuming the march to the railroad station at Jimtown, now known as Riverton. Meanwhile it was learned that the orders to Washington had been canceled and that the Thirty-third would entrain for Missouri. It was only a two-and-a-half-mile march to the railroad but the young and inexperienced soldiers, burdened with their overloaded knapsacks, were footsore and exhausted by the time they arrived. The sight of the snorting railroad engine revived the enthusiasm that had greeted the orders two days before.

From Springfield to East St. Louis, crowds gathered at the stations with flags flying and handkerchiefs waving. After a night in a freight house, the troops were ferried across the Mississippi from Illinoistown and were reloaded on railroad cars. The regiment's freight consisted only of tents and a small supply of rations and the train of flat cars was soon ready to start. Colonel Hovey, acting as railroad conductor, cried, "All aboard." The destination was Pilot Knob, Missouri.<sup>54</sup> Hovey found the Twenty-first Illinois Infantry, originally commanded by Colonel Ulysses S. Grant, the Seventh Nebraska, and part of the Seventh Indiana Cavalry already encamped at Pilot Knob. There was mysterious talk of unknown bands of Confederate soldiers and sympathizers at various surrounding points within threatening proximity.

At St. Louis Hovey obtained a supply of guns from the arsenal. To his disappointment these were European muskets, which had been purchased by General John C. Frémont, instead of the Enfield rifles which the men of the "crack" Thirty-third expected. Loading these guns was almost a major undertaking. The cartridge had to be taken from its box, the end torn off, and the powder poured into the gun, then a ball was dropped in. The long ramrod had to be pulled from its

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 22-24; Elliott, *History of the Thirty-Third Regiment*, 22.

pocket, inserted in the muzzle to drive the ball down to the powder, and then returned to its pocket. Next the hammer had to be raised, a little trap door opened, a primer about two-thirds of an inch in length with its wire string attachment had to be taken from its box and carefully inserted in its pocket, and the trap door gently closed down over it. These guns were good only for short range firing, little better than a shot-gun and much more complicated and unhandy.<sup>55</sup>

The permanent camp, known as Camp Hovey, was established between Ironton and Arcadia, two villages near Pilot Knob. The construction of a fort near the camp was a pressing matter and Hovey took hold of it in earnest. He carefully examined the plans and estimated the work that needed to be done, and then appealed to the regiment, preferring that the labor be performed by volunteers rather than by details. The timber nearby was freely cut and hauled to the fort. Hovey moved among his men, lending a helping hand as he saw occasion. Within a week things were so well set up that the newly arrived chaplain decided that the first religious service might well be a dedication ceremony. The fort was affectionately christened Fort Hovey.<sup>56</sup>

In late fall Hovey established headquarters in Arcadia Seminary, an abandoned private school where St. Louis families had formerly sent their children. Except for forays and scouting expeditions the winter was comparatively quiet; Hovey's wife, Harriette, and the wives of other officers made extended visits to the camp. Mrs. Hovey, small, dark and vivacious, was especially popular with the men of the regiment. In February Hovey was able to secure fine new Dresden rifles in place of the outmoded muskets, and also a supply of Sibley tents. On March 1, on instructions from Washington, he had Major Roe give the command, "Forward to Dixie, march."<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Marshall, *Army Life*, 27.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-71.

Meanwhile the Colonel was faced with a personal decision. Would he return to Normal University when he had completed his army service, or would he resume the law that he had formerly abandoned for education? Perkins Bass, a member of the Normal Board and a former teacher, had taken over the management of the school for a year but he was anxious to return to his law practice in Chicago. Richard Edwards, of the St. Louis Normal, had been employed early in February, 1862, to teach mathematics with the promise of the principalship if Hovey should resign. Hovey had had high regard for Edwards and in April had written him that he would probably resign and in that event he would endorse Edwards' candidacy. However, it was June before Hovey could bring himself to write Samuel Moulton, President of the Board, that it would be entirely impossible, with his plans for the future, for him to again assume duties in the Normal University.<sup>58</sup> Hovey liked Bloomington. He might decide to go into the practice of law there. Anyway he would go ahead with his plans for building a large house on his lot on Mulberry Street north and west of The Junction. While he was in service, Harriette could rent out rooms to students and in a way he would still be serving the normal school.

The march from Arcadia, Missouri, to Helena, Arkansas, was slow and arduous, and took eighteen weeks. It was interrupted by frequent skirmishes, delayed supplies, excessive heat, sunstroke, and fever among the men. Rations were short and the men were forced to drink from polluted, stagnant pools. On July 6, they reached the Cache River and prepared to cross by pontoon. The following day General Samuel Curtis sent Colonel Hovey with a detachment of three thousand men to learn the whereabouts of the Confederates. He encountered five thousand Texas Cavalry under General Albert Rust. Hovey disposed his force and awaited the oncoming cavalry-

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<sup>58</sup> *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois, Held at Bloomington, June 1862* (Springfield, 1862), 3.

men. They came in a mad rush. Hovey signaled his men to open fire. He rode among them, inspiring and encouraging them and assuring them that reinforcements would soon be on the way. He carried with him only a small pocket revolver.<sup>59</sup> It was little better than a popgun at any distance; he fired it nevertheless. "Boys," said Hovey, "shooting is all that will do any good in this fight, you are doing better than I." Soon he took a rifle from a wounded soldier who was crawling to the rear and plunged into the thick of the fight, from time to time borrowing cartridges from the nearest soldier until the last gun was fired.<sup>60</sup> When a charge of nearly spent musket balls struck him in the chest, he stopped for only a moment, examined his wound, picked out the shot that were buried in his flesh. "This does not amount to much," he coolly remarked, and he resumed firing. When word of the attack got back to the other companies of the Thirty-third and the Eleventh Wisconsin, they ran the whole of seven miles to relieve their comrades. The fighting was hard and fast and the Confederates were completely demoralized. They reported they had run up against all of General Curtis' army. Hovey lost but seven men and forty were wounded.<sup>61</sup>

The next morning Hovey's men again marched forward, but owing to a shortness of supplies and water covered only eight miles. July 9 was the most agonizing day in the history of the Thirty-third. The heat was terrific and Peter J. Osterhaus' division which had preceded left dense clouds of dust in the lazy air, so thick that men were scarcely able to recognize each other. There was little in their haversacks and nothing in their canteens. The only water was to be found in occasional stagnant pools. The men pushed back the thick and nauseating green scum and eagerly drank the polluted water. Many fell from heatstroke, fever, and exhaustion. Those who could

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<sup>59</sup> Joseph A. Sewall to Manfred Holmes, Denver, Colo., Dec. 31, 1912, Holmes Papers; Marshall, *Army Life*, 128.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

pressed on through the night to Clarendon and thence to the White River. Here they learned that the boats that were to provide reinforcements despaired of reaching them, and, fearing capture, had returned to their base. Helena was sixty miles away. With little food Hovey and his men pushed forward, drinking pestilential ditch water and grubbing a few succulent roots.

By making a twenty-five-mile march on Sunday, July 13, Helena was reached. Three-fourths of Hovey's command were lying sick and exhausted along the roadside for thirty miles in the rear. It was days before all of the sick soldiers could be removed in the wagons sent for them. After two weeks' rest, Hovey's command was ordered down the Mississippi to Old Town Landing with the object of guarding the confiscated cotton that was being brought in and loaded on steamers and sent northward. Old Town Landing was devoid of buildings and located on the edge of a swamp. The men from the various companies went out in groups of fifty with teams to scout for cotton. The first company sent out on the *Laclede* returned with 110 bales worth about \$50,000. Some days the men went as far as thirty miles inland. One expedition yielded two hundred bales, another three hundred. On August 14 Companies A, C, and D were sent out. Colonel Hovey took a scout with Company K and found 130 bales in a canebrake. These collecting forays frequently met with resistance and bushwhacking. Many of the Thirty-third had died at Old Town Landing, and a great many had been sent to Northern hospitals so that the regiment was heavily depleted and worn out by the time it received orders to embark on the transport *Des Moines* to return north. Back at Camp Arcadia, Missouri, Hovey and other officers and men were given furloughs to visit their homes.

Stories of the cotton exploits had reached Bloomington. It was well known that a number of officers had diverted cotton from the government to their private accounts. The rumor

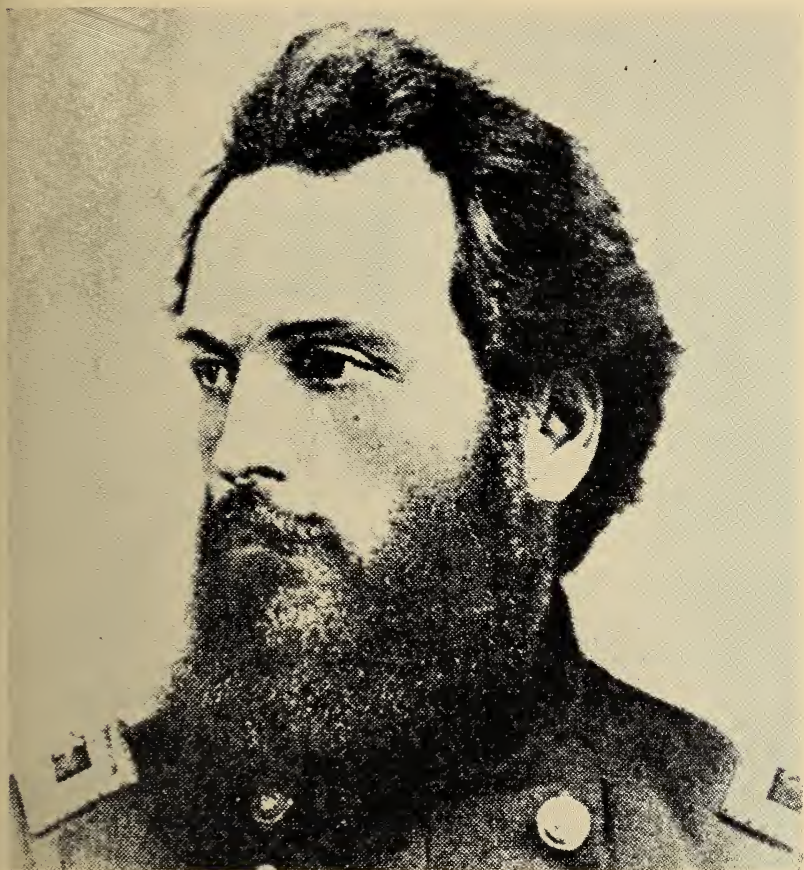
was that Hovey was among those guilty and the fact that he was building a house seemed very incriminating to those who did not know his character. These rumors were very disturbing to Hovey's friends who conducted a private investigation. The *Pantagraph* announced on November 12, 1862, that it was happy to report that the charges levied against Hovey in regard to deals in cotton and "niggers" were untrue.<sup>62</sup>

The winter at the Missouri camp was uneventful except for a wearisome march of 110 days' duration through desolate territory to the west, under hardships of extreme cold, ice, snow, rain, hail, and sleet. The wagon trains were hub deep in mud three-quarters of the time. Rations were short and frequently the men had to subsist on parched corn. Brigadier-General J. W. Davidson, who was in charge of the expedition, ordered frequent roll calls, drills, inspections, and reviews, and had half the force on picket duty, but there was no more formidable enemy than an occasional bushwhacker. There was much discontent among officers and men. The former absented themselves as often as possible. At one time a captain, fifth in rank, was in command, all the field officers and the general in charge of the brigade being away on leave.

It was all very disgusting to Hovey, who was motivated by the highest principles of integrity and honor. He had been promoted to brigadier-general for his conduct at the Battle of the Cache the year before. When he was wounded a second time by bullets passing through both arms at Arkansas Post on January 11, 1863, and cited for "distinguished and meritorious bravery" in the capture of Chickasaw Bayou, he was in line for promotion to major-general. A brevet honor had to be confirmed by act of Congress if it were to carry any increase in pay. The Union Army by 1863 was top-heavy with generals, especially generals from Illinois, and Hovey was deeply chagrined to learn that through the personal influence of Judge David Davis, W. W. Orme of Bloomington was advanced

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<sup>62</sup> *Weekly Pantagraph*, Nov. 12, 1862.



BRIGADIER-GENERAL CHARLES E. HOVEY

ahead of him.<sup>63</sup> Hovey had openly criticized Judge Davis for refusing to give a bond for a deed to the land he had donated to the normal school until after the building had been completed. Davis' action influenced other subscribers to withhold bonds for deeds and as a result Hovey had been subjected

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<sup>63</sup> Agnes Cook Gale to the author, Chicago, Feb. 17, 1955.

to great anguish and financial strain. He now regarded Davis' support of Orme as a gesture of retaliation and was very bitter toward the judge.

On March 10 the command started for Ste Genevieve on the Mississippi where it embarked on boats to join Grant's forces above Vicksburg. On March 31, the command was reorganized, becoming the Fourteenth Division of the Thirteenth Army Corps, Major-General John A. McClernand commanding. The first brigade, composed of the Thirty-third and the Ninety-ninth Illinois and the Eighth and Ninth Indiana Volunteers, was assigned to Brigadier-General W. P. Benton. Hovey felt deeply hurt that his claims to promotion had been ignored. Benton had been in charge of the winter campaign and was thoroughly disliked by the men. Hovey recalled how, on that useless march, they had called their camps "Valley Forge" and lamented over their frozen feet as the second icy "retreat from Moscow." By May Hovey was thoroughly disgusted and disheartened. He suffered pain in his arms and was becoming more and more susceptible to malaria. He longed to be with his wife, and his little son, Alfred. Sick of heart and of body, he resigned his commission and forsook his army career. Ironically a subsequent and kindlier Congress would make possible, in July, 1865, the rank and honor that he coveted and he would receive from President Andrew Johnson the brevet rank of major-general for "gallant and meritorious conduct in battle particularly at Arkansas Post on January 11, 1863."<sup>64</sup>

Except for occasional furloughs while the Thirty-third was encamped in Missouri and his house was being built, Hovey had not returned to Bloomington. Now he hurried on to Washington where he found employment in one of the government offices and applied himself to the study of law. His wife's sister, Lydia Spofford, had come out from the East

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<sup>64</sup> This document is in the Museum of the Milner Library at Illinois State Normal University.

to attend the normal school and help with the roomers and boarders, so he did not feel he was leaving Harriette alone. She would spend vacations in Washington and when he was established sufficiently they would sell the house, perhaps at a profit, and move the family to Washington.

The move was accomplished in 1866 but the ties with Normal University were not broken. Lydia became engaged and in 1867 married John Williston Cook, a graduate of the class of 1865. He was a member of the staff in 1866 and became the school's president in 1890. There were visits among the sisters, (two others had also attended the University and married graduates) and there was always an exchange of letters. Another son, Richard, had been born May 4, 1864, while the family was still living in the big house on Mulberry Street, a precocious lad destined to become one of America's great poets.<sup>65</sup>

Hovey persisted with his law studies and on January 10, 1873, was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court. With his beloved Harriette and his sons, Richard and Alfred, Hovey found a certain peace and fulfilment in Washington. The grief he experienced over the loss of his first son was assuaged by the contacts with the two younger boys, Alfred who liked the out-of-doors and playing soldier, and Richard who delighted in books and music and make-believe. When the children were old enough to be in school, Harriette found employment in the newly created Bureau of Education and for more than thirty years was in charge of its most valued correspondence.

When Normal University celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in August, 1882, the General, as his friends in Illinois always called him, returned to Normal to make one of the principal addresses. He was in good health, and there

<sup>65</sup> Richard Hovey (1864-1900) graduated from Dartmouth in 1885, was successively an actor, journalist, dramatist, poet and lecturer on English literature at Barnard College. His best known poem is "Spring." With Bliss Carman he wrote *Songs from Vagabondia*.

was a twinkle in his eye. He delighted in the progress that had been made under his successors, Edwards and Hewett. He was happy to meet his old friend Jesse Fell and to note the tree-studded campus that replaced the cornfield of a quarter of a century before.<sup>66</sup>

In June, 1897, General Hovey returned for the Fortieth Anniversary. His brother-in-law, John W. Cook, was then president, and there were three buildings instead of one. In the fifteen years that had intervened Hovey had aged. The red brown hair was gray and scraggly and thin, and it was difficult for him to see. He could barely climb the three flights of stairs to Normal Hall. He spoke with trembling voice but his audience listened intently. The applause brought tears to his eyes. When the exercises were finally over and the last former pupil had shaken his hand, he turned to President Cook, "John, I am very tired."

Hovey spent the remainder of the sweltering summer at Cook's home in Normal. After three months he told his wife he thought he was able to attempt the journey home and, accompanied by her sister, Mrs. Cook, they returned to Washington. On November 17 Charles E. Hovey died. He was buried with full military honors in the National Cemetery at Arlington.<sup>67</sup> His grave lies a short stone's throw from the main driveway and a little west of the old Lee mansion. The simple stone marker bears the inscription:

GENERAL CHARLES EDWARD HOVEY  
1827-1897

Founder and first Principal Illinois State Normal University  
Private and Colonel Thirty-third Illinois Infantry  
Brigadier and Bvt. Major-General U. S. V.  
Member of Bar, Supreme Court U. S.  
Education, Arms, Law<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Cook and McHugh, *History of the Illinois State Normal*, 175.

<sup>67</sup> Hovey's funeral was the inspiration for Richard Hovey's beautiful poem, "Bugles."

<sup>68</sup> In 1913 Mrs. Hovey presented her husband's commission as Brevet Major-General, his sword, and other military mementoes to Normal University. They are now in the museum of Milner Library.

# JOHN HENRY RAUCH AND PUBLIC HEALTH IN ILLINOIS 1877-1891

BY F. GARVIN DAVENPORT

SOCIAL AND intellectual life in the Midwest in the decades following the Civil War was much more complex and productive than one might expect in a region famous for corn fields and slaughterhouses.<sup>1</sup> Especially significant were the scientific contributions which ranged from botanical classification to complicated astronomical theories which, in some instances, attracted national and even international attention. For example, Alexander Winchell's crusade to popularize geology aroused the interest of educators throughout the United States while the work of the bacteriologist, Thomas J. Burrill, was recognized in scientific journals on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>2</sup> Equally well known were the original theories of the Illinois dentist, Greene Vardiman Black, sometimes called the father of modern dentistry.<sup>3</sup>

While the activities of the men of science were appre-

<sup>1</sup> A shorter version of this paper was read at the National Convention of Phi Alpha Theta, St. Louis, Dec. 28, 1956. It is based on a larger study made possible by grants from the American History Research Center and Monmouth College.

<sup>2</sup> See for example, E. Prillieux, "Les Tumeurs A. Bacilles des Branches De L'Olivier et du Pin d'Alep," *Revue Générale de Botanique* (Paris, 1889), I: 293.

<sup>3</sup> Professional journals such as *The Dental Cosmos* (Philadelphia, 1859-1936) are indispensable for studies of important dentists such as Black.

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ciated by their colleagues and men of learning in related fields, the people of the Midwest did not share the enthusiasm of the scientific leaders and exhibited only a mild interest in most of the developments. On occasion, they showed a definitely antagonistic attitude toward scientific progress. In no area was this hostility more evident than in medicine and public health, and in no area was there a greater need for public understanding and support of the scientists who were trying to make life better for the average citizen. Ignorance, superstition, and a preference for quack remedies among many of the people made the career of a public health officer a rocky road of conflict and controversy and only those with the basic qualities of a hero and a crusader stayed in office more than a few months. Among this select group was Dr. John Henry Rauch of Illinois, a determined crusader for public sanitation and better medical education. Rauch was symbolic of the progressive spirit among American scientists and under his dynamic leadership the Illinois State Board of Health, created in 1877,<sup>4</sup> went far beyond its general duties as outlined by law. Rauch was the first president of the board, but in 1879 he assumed the work of the secretary which from the administrative point of view was more important than the presidency. He held this office until his resignation in 1891.

By training and experience, Rauch was well qualified for the position, as he had been active in medical circles and in public health work for more than a quarter of a century. He began his medical career in 1850 when he hung up his fresh diploma from the University of Pennsylvania in Burlington, Iowa. Soon he was active in Iowa medical organizations, and had started several projects, including a study of Iowa medical botany and a quiet survey of health conditions in the Burlington area. He assisted Louis Agassiz in collecting specimens for the Harvard professor's natural history of the United States,

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<sup>4</sup> *Laws of the State of Illinois . . . 1877* (Springfield, 1877), 208-10.

a project that brought him into contact with many scientists in the Midwest. His contributions to Illinois scientific life began in 1857 when he accepted a professorship at Rush Medical College. In 1859 he joined the staff of the Chicago College of Pharmacy, an institution that he had helped to establish. During the Civil War he held several important positions in the Union Army, including medical director of the Army of the Potomac. During the course of the conflict he served under Generals David Hunter, McDowell, Augur, Pope, Banks, and Franklin.

Rauch was mustered out of the army in 1865 and, upon his return to Chicago, plunged into civic, medical, and health affairs. He was one of the most active supporters of the local board of health and directed its activities between 1867 and 1870, doing his best to bring some efficiency into the organization in spite of local politics. In 1876 he became president of the American Public Health Association (which had been established in 1872) and in the same year he was appointed to the sanitary committee which had been set up to work out the sanitary problems for the forthcoming Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. But his greatest contributions came in connection with his post as secretary of the Illinois State Board of Health. When he resigned in 1891, he had made the board a recognized factor throughout the nation in all questions pertaining to medical education, public sanitation, and the control and suppression of epidemic diseases.<sup>5</sup>

Rauch and his colleagues were interested in controlling cholera, yellow fever, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and tuberculosis, but it was their vigorous campaign to control smallpox that placed Illinois in the spotlight of national attention. Rauch worked on the assumption that most of the smallpox epidemics in the United States were touched off by infected immigrants, a theory that was supported by several Midwest health officers

<sup>5</sup> *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. XVI (Jan.-June, 1891), 499; *Transactions of the First Pan-American Medical Congress, 1893* (Washington, D. C., 1895), II: 2180-81.

including the capable Charles N. Hewitt of Minnesota.<sup>6</sup> Such an explanation of the origin of sudden smallpox outbreaks was logical in view of the fact that the immigration inspection system at American ports of entry was notoriously inefficient. Rauch was one of the most outspoken critics of the federal inspectors and blamed them for the increased incidence of the disease in Illinois in 1881. In that year, smallpox appeared in seventy-nine different sections of the state outside of the Chicago area, causing an aggregate of 774 cases. More than one hundred of these proved fatal. Chicago, during the same period, reported 2,997 cases and 1,180 deaths.<sup>7</sup>

On June 13, 1881, Rauch issued a call to all Illinois local boards of health to send delegates to a special meeting at the Grand Pacific Hotel in Chicago, to consider plans to control the introduction of smallpox into the United States. The state secretary closed his invitation with the statement that the prevalence of smallpox in a progressive nation such as the United States was a disgrace, and unless more energetic measures were taken to inspect and vaccinate immigrants, the number of cases would continue to increase.

In response to this invitation, health officers met in Chicago on June 29, 1881. The delegates petitioned the National Board of Health to take steps to secure the proper inspection and vaccination of all immigrants who were not already immunized before they left the port of entry. The state board of health joined with Chicago health officers in approving a plan to unite all health authorities in a campaign of concerted operations to prevent the extension of the disease and to secure general vaccination. This program included the inspection of immigrants recently arrived in the Midwest.<sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately, this action came too late to prevent the

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<sup>6</sup> Philip D. Jordan, *The People's Health. A History of Public Health in Minnesota to 1948* (Saint Paul, 1953), 39, 67.

<sup>7</sup> *Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Illinois*, 1882 (Springfield, 1883), 212.

<sup>8</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Illinois*, 1881 (Springfield, 1882), xxii.

epidemic of 1881 from getting out of control, but the attention given to the situation brought to light a number of factors relating to public health that could be changed or at least modified by intelligent administration on the part of the board and the co-operation of local health officers and school officials. One of these was the failure on the part of local health officers to appreciate and to exercise their authority. Another factor that jeopardized public health was the ignorance of local authorities with respect to the best methods of handling an epidemic, a weakness that Rauch traced to the inadequate curriculum of the medical schools. Dangerous, too, was the lack of communication between communities. Finally, investigation revealed that recently arrived immigrants were not the only people who were ignorant of the benefits of preventive medicine; many natives of Illinois, adults as well as children, were either improperly vaccinated or not vaccinated at all.<sup>9</sup>

Having highlighted the weaknesses of the state health program, the board redoubled its efforts to bring the smallpox epidemic under control and to lay the foundations for a more effective, permanent program. The first move concerned vaccination and Rauch decreed that after January 1, 1882, "no pupil shall be admitted to any public school of this State without presenting satisfactory evidence of proper and successful vaccination."<sup>10</sup> In order to improve the administration of the numerous health boards, the health officers in towns and villages were given detailed descriptions of their powers, duties, and responsibilities and were encouraged to seek closer co-operation among themselves and to use the facilities of the state board to help them solve their local problems. The need for health supervision in industry and transportation was obvious to Rauch and with the hope of securing the assistance of business management he mailed informative circular letters to su-

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<sup>9</sup> *Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Health*, 212.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 370.

perintendents of factories, mills, mines, quarries, railroads and steamship lines, urging them to report the cases of smallpox that came to their attention. Similar letters were sent to all public institutions including prisons, hospitals, and homes for the physically handicapped.

Health officials, in their search for means to prevent epidemics, were anxious to identify and to control all possible sources of contamination. The list usually included polluted water, eating utensils, public vehicles, and unsanitary living quarters. It was a common belief that contamination might also result from contact with bodies of persons who died of contagious diseases such as smallpox or cholera, especially if the embalming had been inadequate. Rauch was concerned about this, although modern research has proved that he, and other physicians of his generation, exaggerated the importance of dead bodies in spreading disease. In the light of medical opinion on the subject in the 1880's, Rauch was justified when he issued rather strict rules governing the transportation of corpses. According to these regulations the transportation of the bodies of persons who had died of smallpox, cholera, or yellow fever was forbidden. Victims of diphtheria, scarlet fever, or typhoid fever could be transported provided the body was closely wrapped in a disinfectant cerecloth and placed in a metallic or wooden coffin, which in turn was placed in a tight wooden box. Each body had to be accompanied by either a physician's or coroner's certificate.<sup>11</sup>

More important than the rules concerning corpses were the printed manuals on the prevention of smallpox, scarlet fever, and diphtheria issued by Rauch's office between 1881 and 1883.<sup>12</sup> The smallpox circular, printed in English, German and Scandinavian, was distributed by the thousands throughout the state. Written by Rauch himself, this pamphlet laid down specific rules and instructions for quarantine,

<sup>11</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Health*, xxiii.

<sup>12</sup> Preventable Disease Circulars, no. 2, *Diphtheria* (Springfield, 1883); *ibid.*, no. 3, *Scarlet Fever* (Springfield, 1883).

disinfection, and sanitation. Among the more interesting rules were the following: (1) As soon as a case had been diagnosed as smallpox, every member of the family and all persons in the neighborhood should be vaccinated immediately, even if they had been vaccinated at some previous time. (2) The house should be quarantined quickly and the patient isolated. (3) Scabs and crusts that fell from the eruptions on the skin were to be burned immediately. (4) Bed pans were to be washed with a carbolic acid solution and all dishes and silverware were to be cleaned in boiling water. (5) Doctors and nurses were requested to wear special clothes when attending the patient. Immediately after use, these garments were supposed to be hung up in the fresh air or dipped in a disinfectant. (6) During the course of the illness, members of the family were forbidden to go to church, school, or clubs. Cats and dogs were not allowed in the house and all mail sent from the house was subjected to a dry heat of 250 degrees Fahrenheit. (7) If the patient died, the body, properly prepared, could not be removed from the sick room until time for the funeral. Public funerals for smallpox victims were discouraged.<sup>13</sup>

Rauch's campaign against smallpox was not confined by state boundaries. Early in April, 1882, he sent letters to sanitary authorities and health officers in other states calling attention to the smallpox danger and asking for help in checking immigrants as they traveled from the eastern seaports. He wrote in a similar vein to the presidents of various railroads that entered Illinois from the East, including the Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Ohio, Wabash, Grand Trunk, Michigan Central and Michigan Southern. Favorable replies were received from the railroad officials and state health officials in Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, West Virginia, Kentucky, and New York offered to co-operate. Additional encouragement came from municipal authorities in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis. Assistance came from another source,

<sup>13</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Health*, Appendix, 3-7.

too. Not only did the National Board of Health support the plan but it organized the Immigrant Inspection Service and paid the expenses involved. The inspection service went into operation on June 1, 1882 with Rauch in the position of Supervising Inspector of the Western District. Actually, from this date until December 15 when the service was suspended because of lack of funds, he was the directive genius of the organization.<sup>14</sup>

It was soon apparent to the inspectors all along the line of immigrant travel that a large percentage of the newcomers were unprotected either because of faulty vaccination or none at all. The inspection service proved what Rauch had suspected: the ship doctors and the seaport health authorities were inefficient and irresponsible. Some immigrants carried cards issued by the Cunard Line with the word "Vaccinated" printed on it in bold letters. The cards were undated and some of the people who carried them developed smallpox by the time they reached Indiana or Illinois. In each instance the patient was removed from the train and taken to the nearest hospital. Then with the assistance of the train crew, the inspectors fumigated the cars in which the sick passengers had been riding.

Statistics compiled by the western district alone showed that out of 33,414 immigrants who had been vaccinated on shipboard before entering the United States, 24,131 lacked the scar to prove that the vaccine had been effective. The only remedy for the situation was to re-vaccinate as many as possible before they were swallowed up by the native population. Consequently, between June and December, 1882, officials of the western district immunized more than 20,000 immigrants and it was gratifying to Rauch to record that the number of smallpox cases declined in Illinois during the months when the inspection system was in operation. Many cases of cholera infantum, measles and whooping cough were also detected by

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<sup>14</sup> *Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Health*, 345.

the inspectors who gave the immigrants the necessary medical assistance.<sup>15</sup>

Meantime, the State Board of Health had pushed its campaign to vaccinate every school child in Illinois. Rauch and school authorities estimated that 600,000 children were immunized satisfactorily between January and June, 1881. The physicians who made this achievement possible were compelled to certify that the vaccination in each case was either positive or negative. This, in itself, was a step in the right direction; before this date school vaccinations had been handled in a careless and inefficient manner with no effort being made to keep permanent records.

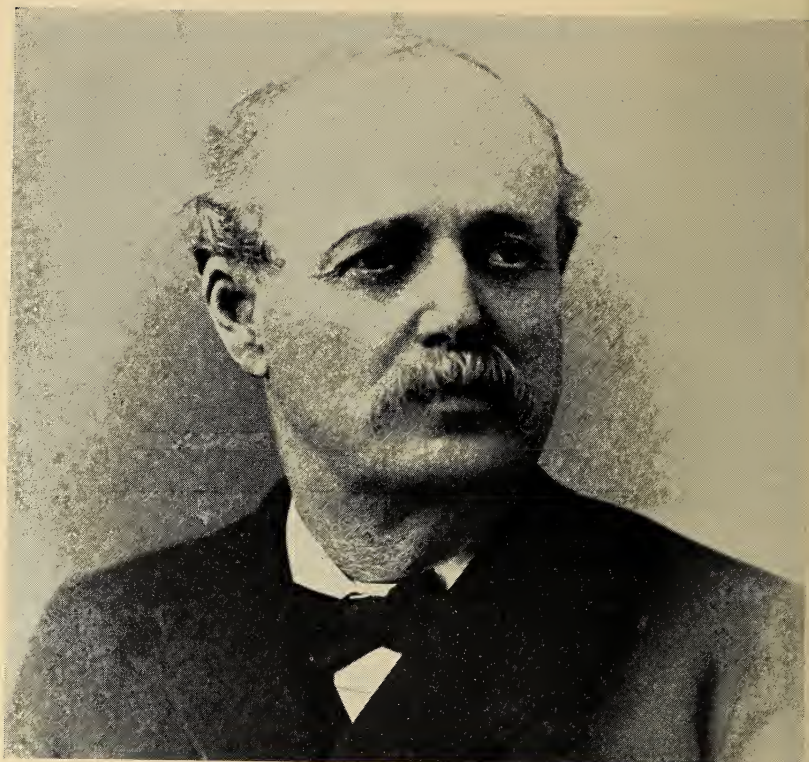
Most of the vaccinations were made with "bovine virus." There was quite a difference of opinion among doctors on the question of bovine and "humanized" virus. In most cases, the doctors who reported a preference for bovine had never used humanized and so they had no scientific basis for a comparison. The bovine seemed to be accepted without question by the public, while there was considerable prejudice against humanized. Physicians who preferred the latter claimed that it gave greater protection without serious complications.<sup>16</sup>

That there were serious complications in some cases cannot be denied, but there was a tendency on the part of the public and irresponsible physicians to exaggerate the reports of these cases. One doctor, J. B. Manahan, who was not enthusiastic about the value of vaccination, reported three instances in which the patients contracted a strange fever or peculiar blood poisoning after vaccination. He suspected that the vaccine was contaminated with gonorrhea and syphilis with a few tuberculosis germs thrown in for good measure. Investigation by reliable physicians proved that these patients

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 343-65; *Papers and Reports, American Public Health Association*, Vol. XIII (1887), 247; *The Sanitary News* [Chicago, 1882-1892], Vol. I (Nov. 11, 1882—April 15, 1883), 97; *Report of the Department of Health of the City of Chicago, 1881-1882* (Chicago, 1883), 9, 25.

<sup>16</sup> *Papers and Reports, American Public Health Association*, Vol. XIII: 465.



Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

DR. JOHN HENRY RAUCH (1828-1894)

were not sick from the vaccination but that they had typhoid, double pneumonia, and tubercular meningitis. They died from the diseases mentioned and not from vaccination, but once the story was spread through the state it was difficult to suppress.<sup>17</sup> This incident throws a glaring light on the incompetencies of some of the physicians of the day.

As a matter of fact, many of the complications that followed vaccinations were caused by the ignorance of the doctor who failed to understand the vaccinal process. Many failures to obtain positive results were traced to the same cause. Generally competent physicians had never taken the time to study

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 471-72.

the problem with any degree of thoroughness and consequently they did not understand the techniques and the pathology involved. Realizing this, the State Board of Health made a special effort to distribute among the doctors of Illinois a special circular describing in detail the most effective technique for securing a successful vaccination.<sup>18</sup>

The state officers not only had to educate physicians in the art of vaccination, but they also had to overcome public opposition to mass vaccination. Nearly a century had passed since Jenner made his famous discovery, but in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there were people in the United States who had a deeply ingrained prejudice against the use of vaccine. Many of those who opposed its use were newly arrived immigrants whose lack of education explains their attitude but many native Americans, who should have known better, were obdurate enemies of anything resembling preventive medicine. When the Sanitary Superintendent of Chicago attempted to vaccinate the people living in the slum districts he found the opposition "truly astonishing."<sup>19</sup> Other officials noticed that immigrants in Illinois had "such an inexcusable dread" of vaccination that they would "resort to almost any measures to avoid it."<sup>20</sup>

The classic example of stubborn resistance to medical progress in Illinois was the case of George W. Lawbaugh, of Geneseo, who went to court in an attempt to prove that the local board of education had no legal right to force vaccination on the children of the area. Lawbaugh was a misguided defender of private rights and he regarded vaccination as a violation of the constitution. "Self preservation is the first law of nature," he said: "Defend yourself and family against the vaccinator."<sup>21</sup> He regarded vaccination as "the world's

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 465.

<sup>19</sup> *Report of the Board of Health of the City of Chicago, 1867-1869*, p. 166.

<sup>20</sup> *The Sanitary News*. Vol. I, p. 53.

<sup>21</sup> George W. Lawbaugh, *Vaccination, The World's Greatest Humbug* (Geneseo, 1900), 201.

greatest humbug," a curse, causing illness, pain, insanity, and death. It was simply a money-making scheme. He scoffed at the idea that doctors wanted to prevent disease. Their business, he stated, was to try to heal the sick and extort as much money as possible from the patients.

Some doctors were careless and in certain cases they came close to fraud, but to denounce all physicians as irresponsible, money-mad villains was unwarranted. Politics in the local school board and the ignorance or indifference of the people, could and sometimes did produce undesirable situations. But there were no legitimate grounds for such vindictive attacks as those launched by Lawbaugh and men of his type. Their little minds, clouded by prejudice, could never grasp the significance of preventive medicine. From their point of view, the principles motivating the state board, based on a growing social consciousness, were ridiculous and dangerous.

The Illinois State Board of Health was anxious to control all infectious diseases but it gave more attention to smallpox than to the other enemies of public health. One reason for this was the fact that this disease could be eliminated by following a systematic plan of vaccination and quarantine. If smallpox became epidemic it was because of negligence on the part of health officers and ignorance or apathy on the part of the people, and crusaders like Rauch saw no excuse for either.<sup>22</sup> But medical men were not so certain about methods of attack on other plagues such as cholera, yellow fever, and typhoid fever. After the epidemic of 1873,<sup>23</sup> cholera tended to disappear from the Midwest, but the yellow fever outbreak in Memphis and Louisville in 1878 and 1879 caused much anxiety in the upper Mississippi Valley.<sup>24</sup> Rauch believed that inter-

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<sup>22</sup> For an example of laxity and negligence see Bayard Holmes, "The Sweat-Shops and Smallpox in Chicago," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. XXIII (July-Dec., 1894), 419-22.

<sup>23</sup> House Exec. Docs., 43 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 95 (Serial no. 1646), 212ff.

<sup>24</sup> For the Memphis epidemic see Gerald M. Capers, Jr., "Yellow Fever in Memphis in the 1870's," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XXIV, no. 4 (March, 1938), 483-502.

state co-operation would do much to control yellow fever and in 1879 he was one of the organizers of the Sanitary Council of the Mississippi Valley. This organization was composed of representatives from the state boards of health of Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Cities in the valley including St. Louis, Memphis, and New Orleans were represented and the National Board of Health sent delegates to the annual meetings.

The council studied sanitation problems, the relation of yellow fever to climatic conditions, and the question of quarantine and its effect on the economic life of the nation. Rauch was opposed to inflexible quarantine regulations that tied up freight and express shipments causing a loss of thousands of dollars to shippers, railroads, and steamship lines. During the yellow fever epidemic in Memphis in 1879, it was the Sanitary Council in co-operation with the National Board of Health that saved the Mississippi Valley from the commercial paralysis of an inflexible quarantine. Less progressive health officers would have stopped every freight shipment between New Orleans and St. Louis. The value of a flexible quarantine system was made all the more apparent during the yellow fever scare of 1888. At that time the Sanitary Council, unfortunately, had lost its vigor, and the National Board of Health was temporarily inactive, so that the states in the Mississippi Valley returned to the old pattern of "shot-gun quarantines," panic, and fear. In the midst of this clamor, Rauch refused to get excited and no quarantine orders were released in Illinois and, as it turned out, none was needed.<sup>25</sup>

While Rauch campaigned against smallpox, launched a pure water crusade, issued educational circulars on scarlet fever

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<sup>25</sup> *Minutes of the Meeting of Organization and Proceedings of the Sanitary Council of the Mississippi Valley* (Chicago, 1879), 3-19; *Proceedings of the Sanitary Council of the Mississippi Valley*. . . 1879, 1880, 1881 (n. p., n. d.) 139, 147, 160; *Eleventh Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Illinois, 1888* (Springfield, 1892), XLV-LIX.

and diphtheria, and contributed his talents to the Sanitary Council, he did little to combat the greatest killer of all, tuberculosis. This disease, the infamous "white plague," claimed more victims in Illinois than typhoid, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and smallpox combined. The average annual death rate from tuberculosis was 8,000 and most of the victims were in the twenty-to-forty age bracket. But, in spite of this appalling record, the legislature and the health officials regarded the disease with a sort of fatalism. It was not until after the turn of the century that the state organized its health resources to wage persistent war against tuberculosis. Today, the growing numbers of empty beds in sanatoriums are symbols of the victories along a long and difficult road.

Rauch's failure to develop a consistent program for the control of tuberculosis does not detract from his accomplishments in other fields. He brought the Illinois State Board of Health into the main stream of the public health movement, developed a realistic plan for reducing smallpox incidence, and became a leader in what was called "state medicine." The latter included quarantine, sanitation, vital statistics, and the certification of practicing physicians through an examination and license system. In brief, state medicine at this time was a systematic effort on the part of health officers to protect the public from certain evil practices in the medical profession and to create better living conditions. To succeed, the program had to have the support of reputable doctors and a majority of the people. Consequently, it was essential that health officials should use caution and diplomacy in performing their duties in order to keep as many people as possible in a co-operative mood. In this respect, Rauch showed wisdom and insight.

Rauch made one other contribution of major importance. Under his leadership, the Illinois State Board of Health became a powerful influence in creating a movement to revise and strengthen the curriculum and the graduation require-

ments of American medical colleges. Rauch felt that it was his responsibility and his duty to society to expose the weaknesses of the standard medical education of the day and to do all in his power to improve it.

At a meeting held at Cairo, November 15, 1877, the state secretary and his colleagues turned their ideas into action when they drew up a resolution to the effect that a diploma from a medical school which allowed students to cram two years of work into a short session of a few months would not be recognized in Illinois after July 1, 1878. The resolution indicated that it was impossible for a student to learn the fundamentals of medical science in less than two full courses of lectures spread over a period of two years. In addition, the doctors denounced the custom of allowing several years of practice to be substituted for a year of medical school courses.<sup>26</sup>

The Cairo resolution was only the beginning of the campaign to improve medical education. In 1880 the board drew up minimum requirements for a first class medical school and after 1883 it refused to recognize a diploma from a college that did not meet these requirements. To be recognized by the Illinois health authorities, a college had to have a specific admissions policy which would exclude all candidates of questionable moral standing. Furthermore, in order to be certified by the board, a medical school would have to insist that candidates for admission present a diploma from a liberal arts college or high school. If a candidate did not offer a diploma he would have to take a thorough examination in English composition and elementary science. Rauch thought that it was disgraceful that some of the candidates who applied for a license in Illinois could not spell simple words and he could not see how they could learn enough to be a doctor of medicine if they did not understand the English language.<sup>27</sup>

With respect to medical curricula, the Illinois board de-

<sup>26</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Health*, 39-41.

<sup>27</sup> *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. CXXII (1890), 257.

clared that it would not accept any course of study that did not include anatomy, physiology, chemistry, materia medica and therapeutics, theory and practice of medicine, pathology, surgery, obstetrics and gynecology, hygiene, and medical jurisprudence. The medical schools were advised not to overlook the importance of laboratory work and hospital observation and practice. Rauch asserted that the student who did not become skillful in the dissecting room had to acquire his technique at the bedside of his patients "often at fearful cost."<sup>28</sup> Another weakness in the medical school program was the short session. Rauch set the yearly session at not less than five months and extended the entire course to three years, including the time spent in lectures, clinics, and hospitals. This was quite an improvement since a student could get his degree in less than two years under the old system. Finally, the new regulations emphasized the importance of compulsory attendance at all classes, adequate teaching facilities, access to a clinic, and a competent faculty.<sup>29</sup>

In setting up minimum requirements for the medical degree, and in subsequent exposures of fraudulent and incompetent medical schools, the Illinois State Board of Health exerted considerable influence on American medical education. Health authorities were generous with their praise of the work done by the board and applauded Rauch for his efforts in raising the standards of the medical profession. The Missouri State Board of Health not only accepted the Illinois requirements as a standard to be used in judging medical colleges but invited Rauch to attend its meetings in an advisory capacity. According to *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, the Illinois schedule of minimum requirements for medical schools had national significance. "It is evident," said this journal, "that medical education in the United States is far short of even a satisfactory condition, but it is also evident

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<sup>28</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Health*, 42.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-41.

that a gradual improvement is taking place, and that a change for the better became marked with the establishment of the minimum requirements of the Illinois Board."<sup>30</sup>

The Illinois campaign to improve the medical profession was not just a flash in the pan. It was a permanent program which revised its aims and raised its standards with the passing years. Moreover, it kept the problem of medical education before the public and the medical profession at all times, and the pressure brought results. Dr. J. Collins Warren, speaking before the First Pan-American Medical Congress in 1893, declared that "the reports on medical education by the Illinois board, I do not hesitate to say, have exerted a more powerful influence on the movement in education than any other publication which our medical literature has produced."<sup>31</sup>

The results in Illinois were gratifying. In 1890 the number of physicians with college degrees in medicine was nearly double the number recorded in 1880. Moreover, the scientific skill and technical knowledge of the doctors had improved and their professional attainments increased accordingly. This was the result of the insistence on thoroughness in the medical colleges, the longer terms of study, and the practical application of theory in clinics and hospitals associated with the medical schools. By insisting on higher standards for the medical degree, Rauch was doing more than discharging a legal obligation to the state. Through a well educated profession he hoped to achieve not only increased skills and competency in medicine and surgery, but higher standards of sanitation and public hygiene which would benefit the people of Illinois and mankind in general.

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<sup>30</sup> *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. CXXII, p. 257.

<sup>31</sup> *Transactions of the First Pan-American Medical Congress*, Vol. II, p. 2181. A similar opinion was expressed by the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. XVI, p. 499.



### THE FRONT ENTRANCE WITH ITS PRISMATIC GLASS

The handsome English hall clock at the left is among the nineteenth century furnishings of the Rendleman House which Mr. and Mrs. Grieve have also offered to present to the Historical Library.

## RENDLEMAN HOUSE—MUSEUM OF THE MISSISSIPPI

BY HOWARD F. RISSLER

LATE IN the session of the Seventieth Illinois General Assembly (June 13, 1957) House Bill 1410 was introduced (1415 was the last) by the three Representatives of the Fifty-eighth District: Clyde L. Choate, Democrat, of Anna, Union County; John E. Miller, Republican, of Tamms, Alexander County; and W. J. McDonald, Republican, of Murphysboro, Jackson County. On July 8, the measure, which had been passed by the legislature, was signed into law by Governor William G. Stratton.

This act authorized the Illinois State Historical Library to accept the property known as the Rendleman House, in Cairo, as a gift from the owners, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick J. Grieve. The bill stipulated that the Historical Library will, "in conjunction with the Illinois State Historical Society, establish, maintain and operate such property as a museum depicting and portraying the history of the Mississippi River and its tributaries," and provided a biennial appropriation of \$27,000 for that purpose. Title to the property is expected to pass to the Library during the next year.

Rendleman House is a two-story brick mansion, painted white, with a mansard roof and a high stone foundation set on three-quarters of an acre (.76 acre, to be exact) of beautifully landscaped grounds. It is located on the southwest corner of Washington Avenue and Twenty-eighth Street, in the northwest section of the city of Cairo. The house faces Washington Avenue at a point where it takes a slight turn



AT THE FOOT OF THE WINDING STAIRWAY  
There are six niches on the turns and beneath these stairs.

to the southeast from its north-south course. Thus the property actually fronts to the east of north. Along the south (or southeast) side is Charles Street.

Charles Trimble, a member of the staff of State Architect John D. Jarvis, was assigned to make a comprehensive examination of the physical condition of the house and in his report stated that it is "in excellent structural condition, and has obviously been well maintained over the period of years since it was built." The only major item of rehabilitation, the report added, would be the replacement of the electrical distribution system which "is of ancient vintage."

State Historian Clyde C. Walton, after a preliminary survey as to its possibilities, said that he found the house "ideally suited" to museum purposes. Although their original gift was a most generous one—real estate men have appraised the property at \$75,000—Mr. and Mrs. Grieve have added that they intend to include any of the furnishings that can be used. Most of these are nineteenth-century period pieces that have been collected by the Grieves or were inherited by them from Mrs. Grieve's parents, Dr. and Mrs. John J. Rendleman. A few have been in the house since it was built.

What is now known as the Rendleman House was built in 1865 by Captain William Parker Halliday, the most successful of Cairo's Civil War millionaires. The Captain was born in Rutland, Meigs County, Ohio, on July 21, 1827. He worked as a newspaper printer and proprietor and then was a clerk and finally part owner of an Ohio River steamboat. He settled in Cairo shortly before the war began and organized the firm of Halliday Brothers which got off to a better than good start during the war and flourished for about thirty years. As the oldest of the five brothers and senior partner in the firm he owned a controlling interest in the City National Bank, Cairo City Gas Company, and the Cairo Electric Light and Power Company. His extensive local real estate holdings included all the Ohio River waterfront between Cairo and



### THE FIREPLACE IN THE LIVING ROOM

The handmade fan in the frame on the wall at the right was one of several brought from France by members of the Rendleman family and used as decorations throughout the house.

Mound City and Cairo's famous Halliday Hotel, where General Ulysses S. Grant made his headquarters during the early months of the Civil War. But the Captain did not confine his interests to Cairo. He owned cotton lands in Arkansas, a hotel in Memphis, and furniture companies there and in New Orleans. He also had coal mines near Hallidayboro, in Jackson County, and salt wells and a large farm near DuQuoin.

When Captain Halliday died in Chicago on September 22, 1899, the obituary in the Cairo paper called him "Cairo's most prominent citizen" and estimated his wealth at between three and four million dollars. The Halliday Hotel was destroyed by fire on February 22, 1943, but Cairo still has a Halliday Park in which there is a famous statue dedicated to the Captain's memory. This is a bronze work titled "The Hower," by George Grey Barnard. It was exhibited at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904 prior to its unveiling in Cairo in 1906. Sculptor Lorado Taft is reported to have considered it "one of the two best nudes" then (1910) in America.

Captain Halliday presumably lived in his Victorian mansion from the time it was built until his death. In the construction there are many features that only a man of his wealth could afford and others that only a man with his river background could have conceived. Although the workmanship and materials generally were of the finest the Captain added a number of touches that were definitely in the luxury class—and each contributes its note of distinction to the house. One of these was the use of leaded prismatic glass in the panels of the double doors and large fanlight of the front entrance—Dr. Rendleman added the stained glass in the bay windows in the living room and library. Another was the heavy, ornate plaster molding and ceiling centerpieces in the latter two rooms. This molding is in the oak-leaf and acorn design which was very popular at the time and would be practically impossible to duplicate today. A "feature of arresting interest," in the words of the Trimble report, is the open, oval

central stairway which winds from the back of the first floor hall to the roof, 38 feet, 4 inches above. "The intricate construction of this stairway," the report continues, "together with the artistically curved [mahogany] balustrade is an outstanding example of custom stair building craftsmanship, now practically extinct." The house has five usable fireplaces, two of them decorated with ornamental ceramic tile which, the Trimble report states, "is outstanding in design and workmanship, and worthy of exhibition as works of art."

A distinctive river boat touch supplied by Captain Halliday is the glassed-in pilot house, complete with a sliding hatch, that serves as the entrance onto the roof. The top roof itself is flat instead of sloping as is usual with a mansard roof. This flat part is surrounded by a low, cast-iron railing and resembles the deck of a river boat, which probably was the intention. In several rooms of the house the Captain also installed large mirrors from river boats.

Most unusual of several unique features of the Rendleman House, however, is the little theater on the third floor. It occupies the southeast side, and the stage, complete with proscenium arch, curtain, footlights, and backdrops, is at the front of the house. This room is approximately 15 feet wide by 35 feet long, with the stage taking 12 feet of this, which allows seating space for an audience of forty or fifty. The ceiling of the theater is 13 feet high and the stage is raised three steps above the auditorium. When he saw the room for the first time State Historian Walton decided this would be the place for the showboat exhibit of the future museum. It was here that Mrs. Grieve (Adelaide Rendleman) played as a girl—particularly on rainy days. And the interest she acquired in the theater led to her later stage career in New York and Hollywood—where she was known as Adelaide Rondell.

Soon after Captain Halliday's death Dr. John J. Rendleman and his family moved into the house and in 1901 he purchased the property. Although the Doctor made no funda-



### STAGE OF THE THIRD-FLOOR LITTLE THEATER

The wall at the right slopes inward with the lines of the mansard roof.



### THE NORTHWEST BEDROOM—ABOVE THE DINING ROOM

mental changes he installed the latest in heating, water, and electrical systems as these conveniences became available. The principal contribution of the Rendleman family has been in the development and landscaping of the grounds until the property now presents a park-like appearance. Mrs. Grieve says that pictures taken about 1900 show the only greenery around the house to be scattered clumps of elephant-ear ferns. She adds that her mother "planned the original landscaping and selected all the flowers, shrubs and trees which were planted during a period of ten years beginning about 1905." The yard is enclosed on the street sides by a low white picket fence. The front walk and walks around both sides of the house are made of brick laid in a herringbone pattern. A small active fountain forms the center of the plantings in the southeast yard, and there are bird houses, feeders, and baths, a sun dial and other accessories to enhance the park-like atmosphere. In the back yard there is a giant Ginkgo tree which, Mrs. Grieve recalls, was planted by her father after a family visit in 1913 to New York where they admired the Ginkgoes that had been planted at Grant's Tomb by the Chinese ambassador to the United States. The front walk is bordered on both sides by Emperor daffodils and along the Twenty-eighth Street fence are Blaze roses. Mrs. Grieve recently took a botanical census of the property and compiled a list of twenty-eight varieties of trees which included pink, white, and Chinese dogwood, grandiflora and Soulangeana Magnolias, European and American holly, Japanese maple, Korean cherry, fig, and four species of crabapple, in addition to a number of evergreens. There were forty different shrubs, nine varieties of roses and eleven of climbing roses, five vines and twenty flowers. But when she came to the bamboo Mrs. Grieve did not know how to catalog it. The original plant came from Georgia and it spreads prolifically from underground runners.

When Captain Halliday planned his house he made two concessions to the delta-like position and soil of Cairo. The



THE BAY WINDOW IN THE LIVING ROOM

first was in having the basement dug only a few feet deep and then having the grounds graded so that the basement floor is less than three feet below the grade line and is above the level of the street—thus the basement is always dry. The other was that the footings for the exterior walls and all interior load-bearing walls extend four feet below the basement floor, with the result that none of the walls has ever showed cracks as do less firmly based structures.

The exterior foundations—2 feet thick and 8 feet, 7 inches in height—are made of limestone blocks cut to a uniform cross section but in random lengths. This stone was quarried at Makanda, about ten miles south of Carbondale and near present-day Giant City State Park, which takes its name from its limestone formations. Many of these blocks are of a size known to builders as “two-man stones,” presumably because two men were required to lift one and place it in position. The exterior brick walls of the first floor are 18 inches thick, and those of the second floor and all interior walls and partitions are one foot in thickness.

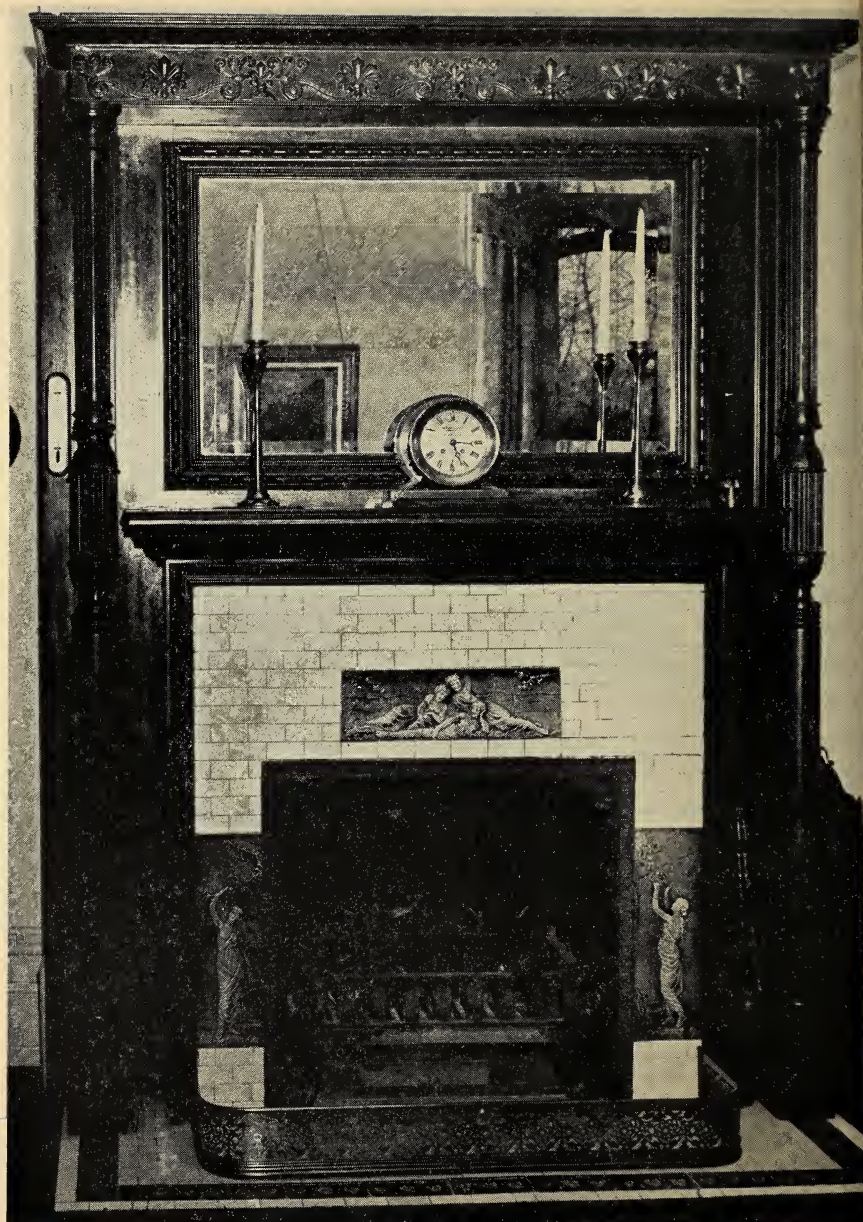
Although Rendleman House is frequently described as a ten-room Victorian mansion it is actually two houses in one and has much more space than the expression “ten rooms” indicates. It is approximately 68 feet from front to rear and 59 feet wide by 45 feet from ground level to roof. The mansard-roofed main part of the house contains three rooms on the first floor—dining room, living room, and library—and three bedrooms and a dressing room on the second floor. Back of this section is a two-story apartment with the kitchen and sun room on the first floor and a bedroom on the second. There is no third story to this part of the house and the ceilings here are much lower than at the front—a second floor hall may be entered by way of a door off a landing on the winding stairway between the first and second floors. This enumeration of rooms omits the 8-foot basement under the entire house, the 10-by-28-foot stair halls on all three floors,

an 11-by-12-foot stair hall on the two floors at the rear, plus lavatories and bathrooms, and several other halls and store-rooms. This arrangement of two houses in one will make it possible for the future custodian to live on the premises and still have his quarters separate from the museum.

The front entrance to the house is across a 7-foot-wide porch which extends along the northeast side 26 feet, around the corner and down the northwest side for another 28 feet to the end of the main part of the house. Around the porch and the roof above it and around the tops of the two bay windows is a railing with heavy wooden balusters.

The double front doors lead into the main hall, of course. To the right of this is the 15-by-27-foot, 7-inch dining room with a large gilt-framed mirror from a river steamer at the far end, five full-length windows, and the most ornate of the five usable fireplaces in the house. Across the hall are the living room at the front and beyond it is the library. These rooms are 15 feet, 7 inches by 21 feet and 13 feet, 9 inches by 18 feet, 9 inches in size respectively. The alcove for the living room bay window, which faces the front of the house, is 7 feet, 6 inches wide by 6 feet deep, and the one in the library is 6 feet, 6 inches wide by 4 feet deep. The living room has a fireplace but the one in the library has been covered by a bookcase. To the left of this bookcase is the door to the sun room or "conservatory." This door consists of one large panel of leaded, prismatic glass with a wooden frame around it. It was purchased by Dr. Rendleman after it had won a prize at the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904. Between the living room and library is a doorway with a fluted Corinthian column on each side. Although the oak-leaf and acorn molding design was used only in the living room and library the hall and dining room have a heavy plaster molding in a simple geometrical pattern. The ceilings on the first floor at the front of the house are 12 feet, 6 inches high.

The three second-floor bedrooms in this part of the house



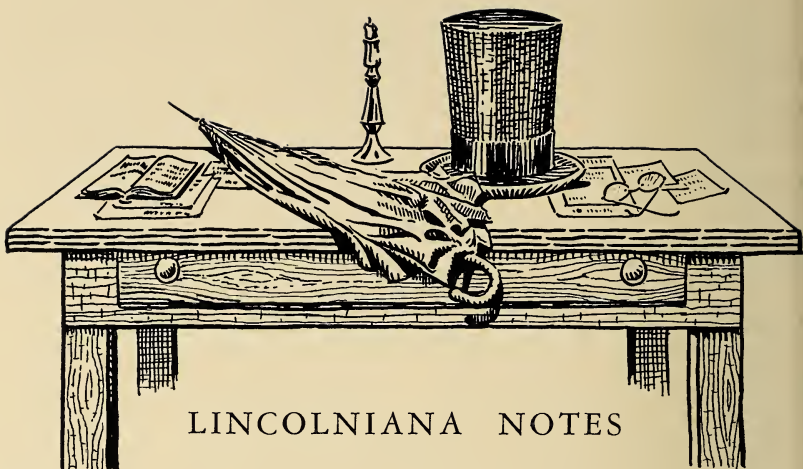
All Photos by Henry Moreland, Cairo

## FIREPLACE IN THE DINING ROOM

range in size from 14 feet, 3 inches by 18 feet to 15 feet by 18 feet, 6 inches. All three have usable fireplaces, two of them with cherry mantels and built-in mirrors, while the third is of ornamental cast iron. The one in the northeast bedroom also has ceramic tile decorations. Back of the northwest bedroom there is an 8-foot, 8-inch by 13-foot dressing room. These second-floor ceilings are 11-feet high and undecorated. In addition to the little theater on the third floor there are two large storage rooms and the hall.

When Captain Halliday built his house this area was in suburban Cairo, but within a few years there were three more mansions on the other corners of Washington Avenue and Twenty-eighth Street. Two of these houses are still standing and with the Rendleman House make the intersection what is probably the most historic site in Cairo. Across Washington Avenue to the east of Rendleman House is Magnolia Manor, where ex-President and Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant were entertained for two days in April, 1880. It is now maintained as the museum of the Cairo Historical Association. Across Twenty-eighth Street to the north is The Magnolias, where George Parsons, long-time mayor of Cairo, entertained the great and near-great, including President Theodore Roosevelt on October 3, 1907. This house is now privately owned—by Herman Weber. The fourth house, on the northeast corner of the intersection, has since been torn down.

On the parking outside the yard are two final reminders of the period of the Halliday-Rendleman House—in more than ninety years it has been owned by only two families. These are the iron barrels of two Civil War cannon which are embedded, muzzle down, in the ground. An unusual feature of these two ancient castings is that the barrels were never bored out. The war ended before they could be made into weapons and they became hitching posts instead.



## LINCOLNIANA NOTES

### ROBERT WRITES ABOUT HIS MOTHER

Just seventy-five years ago this summer, July 16, 1882, Mary Todd Lincoln died in Springfield at the home of her sister, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards. She had been in poor health for a long time and very ill, indeed, since returning from Europe in the fall of 1880. At that time she came out to Springfield to live in seclusion.

The Edwards house was a handsome place and stood on the high ground south of the Capitol where the Centennial Building now stands. It was probably in this house that Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd met. Here they were married. To this house the body of Tad was brought in the early morning hours of July 17, 1871. Tad had died in Chicago two days before. And to this Edwards house Robert came to visit his mother in May, 1881. He brought his little daughter, Mary, with him in the hope that the child's presence would soften the hard feeling that his mother had toward him. After this visit the relations between mother and son were not quite so strained.

The Illinois State Historical Library has a letter written by Robert just after this trip to Springfield. Upon his return to Washington, where he was then Secretary of War, he wrote to Mrs. James H. Orne, a good friend of his mother's, who had written to inquire about her:

WASHINGTON JUNE 2/81

MY DEAR MRS. ORNE

Just arriving from the west I find your kind letter of Sunday. That day I spent with my mother in Springfield where she is with her sister, Mrs. Edwards. The reports you have seen about her are exaggerated very much. She is undoubtedly far from well & has not been out of her room for more than six months and she thinks she is very ill. My own judgment is that some part of her trouble is imaginary.

I take pleasure in sending your letter to her & I know she will be glad to hear from you

I thank you heartily for your kind words to myself.

VERY SINCERELY YOURS

ROBERT T. LINCOLN

Mrs. James H. Orne was a prominent Philadelphian whose acquaintance Mary Todd Lincoln had made during White House days. Her husband was an active Republican, and her brother, Charles O'Neill, had been a member of the House of Representatives.

Mrs. Orne was in Europe in 1869 and visited Mrs. Lincoln in Frankfort, Germany. She was shocked that the widow of Abraham Lincoln was living in such poverty and used her influence to try to get Congress to vote a pension for Mrs. Lincoln. Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, to whom Mrs. Orne had written, proposed a pension of \$5,000, but the bill failed to pass.

Robert's opinion that his mother was "undoubtedly far from well" is an understatement of the facts and shows a lack of awareness of the situation that is now difficult to understand. No doubt her mental condition had much to do with her sufferings, but there can be no denying the reality of her physical afflictions.

In the fall of 1881 Mrs. Lincoln went to New York to seek the help of a prominent orthopedic surgeon, Dr. Lewis A. Sayre. But she got no better and on March 21, 1882, wrote to her favorite grand-nephew, Edward Lewis Baker, to tell him that she was coming back to Springfield. The letter is written on stationery of the Grand Central Hotel, New York. She tells Lewis that she is leaving New York at 5:30 Wednesday evening and will arrive in Springfield at seven o'clock Friday morning. "I dread the journey greatly," she says, "with my limbs still in so paralyzed [*sic*] a state."

This was her last letter to "My dear Lewis" and possibly the last she ever wrote. She returned to her room at the Edwards mansion where she kept the shades drawn. In early July she suffered an attack of boils which caused her great pain. On Saturday, July 15, she suffered a stroke of paralysis, slipped into a state of unconsciousness and on the following evening she died.

Mary Todd Lincoln's life and personality have been subjects of controversy for many years. She suffered much both from physical afflictions and from the grief of losing three sons and her husband. She was persecuted by the press. It is not surprising that the burdens were too great for her to bear.

### NOT "EVEN A SHADOW OF A DOUBT"

Lincoln's religion has been a controversial subject ever since he ran for Congress against Peter Cartwright in 1846. Cartwright, a circuit riding preacher, was "whispering the charge of infidelity" against him, or at least so Lincoln had been informed. Lincoln stated his position at that time in a handbill "To the Voters of the Seventh Congressional District."

In the election he defeated Cartwright overwhelmingly—by a vote of 6,340 to 4,829, and carried eight of the eleven

counties in the Seventh Congressional District. But the question of his religious views has never been so conclusively settled and has been a topic for speculation ever since.

William H. Herndon talked and wrote a lot about it. In fact he thought he knew *all* about the subject, as the following letter will show. It was addressed to Edward McPherson, then Clerk of the House of Representatives. McPherson had written to Herndon on January 29, 1866 to thank him for sending an abstract of his second lecture on Lincoln. McPherson particularly liked Herndon's remarks on Lincoln's "religious character," and thought his interpretation "the most interesting & satisfactory I have seen."

This text of Herndon's reply is taken from an undated newspaper clipping and there is no indication as to the paper whence it came. But the letter and story were furnished to the paper by William L. McPherson, Edward McPherson's son, who died in 1930. The father had died in 1895. Here is Herndon's letter:

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., FEB. 11, 1866.

MR. MCPHERSON.

My dear Sir: Your kind note dated the 29th ult. is this moment handed to me and for which I thank you. I sent you my 2nd lecture because some of your friends here wished me to: they wanted the 1st one, but I did not have it. I did not make out the abstracts—Reports of any one of my lectures. I have delivered the third one. I thank you for your appreciation of the Lectures. The condensed Reports are *timid*. If I ever get time I will write out fully and publish.

Mr. Lincoln's Religion is too well known to me to allow of *even a shadow of a doubt*; he is or was a Theist & Rationalist, denying all extraordinary, supernatural Inspiration or Revelation. At one time in his life to say the least, he was an elevated Pantheist, doubting the *immortality* of the *soul* as the Christian world understands that term. He believed that the soul lost its identity and was immortal as a force. Subsequent to this he rose to the belief of a God and this is all the change he ever underwent. I speak knowing what I say. He was a noble man—a good great man for all this. My own ideas of God—His attributes—man, his destiny, and the relations of the two are tinged with Mr. Lincoln's Religion. I cannot, for the

poor life of me, see why men dodge the sacred truth of things. In my poor lectures I *stick* to the truth and bide my time. I love Mr. Lincoln dearly—almost worship him but that can't blind me. He's the purest politician I ever saw, and the lustest man. I am scribbling—that's the word—away at a life of Mr. Lincoln—gather *known, authentic & true* facts of him.

Excuse the liberties I have taken with you—hope you wan't have a fight with Johnson. Is he turning out a fool—a Tyler? He must go with God if he wants to be a living and vital Power. Again excuse.

YOURS TRULY, W. H. HERNDON.

What did Lincoln have to say about the charges of infidelity against him? He denied that he had ever been a scoffer at Christianity or had ever doubted the truth of the Scriptures. He did not think that a man running for public office had the right to insult the feelings of the community by such talk. But what he really believed, and this probably held true throughout his life, was known only to himself. No man could speak for Lincoln in this respect. Many have tried. The text of his handbill "To the Voters of the Seventh Congressional District" follows:

FELLOW CITIZENS:

A charge having got into circulation in some of the neighborhoods of this District, in substance that I am an open scoffer at Christianity, I have by the advice of some friends concluded to notice the subject in this form. That I am not a member of any Christian Church, is true; but I have never denied the truth of the Scriptures; and I have never spoken with intentional disrespect of religion in general, or of any denomination of Christians in particular. It is true that in early life I was inclined to believe in what I understand is called the "Doctrine of Necessity"—that is, that the human mind is impelled to action, or held in rest by some power, over which the mind itself has no control; and I have sometimes (with one, two or three, but never publicly) tried to maintain this opinion in argument. The habit of arguing thus however, I have, entirely left off for more than five years. And I add here, I have always understood this same opinion to be held by several of the Christian denominations. The foregoing, is the whole truth, briefly stated, in relation to myself, upon this subject.

I do not think I could myself, be brought to support a man for office, whom I knew to be an open enemy of, and scoffer at, religion. Leaving the higher matter of eternal consequences, between him and his Maker, I still

do not think any man has the right thus to insult the feelings, and injure the morals, of the community in which he may live. If, then, I was guilty of such conduct, I should blame no man who should condemn me for it; but I do blame those, whoever they may be, who falsely put such a charge in circulation against me.

JULY 31. 1846.

A. LINCOLN.

## LINCOLN WRITES A LETTER FOR STANTON

Among the valuable documents acquired by Ralph G. Newman of the Abraham Lincoln Bookshop, Chicago, with the papers of the late Wiley R. Reynolds, is the original telegram Secretary of War Stanton sent to General Grant on March 3, 1865, giving the terms for Lee's capitulation.

The interesting thing about this document is that while it was sent to Grant by Stanton it is all in Lincoln's handwriting with the exception of the date, salutation, and signature. These are in Stanton's handwriting.

General Grant had telegraphed to Stanton on March 2 giving the text of a communication that he had just received from General Lee. The latter had suggested a meeting, but before replying Grant telegraphed to Stanton explaining the entire situation. Grant's telegram closes with these words: "I respectfully request instructions." The "instructions" which Lincoln wrote out for Stanton to send to Grant follow:

MARCH 3, 1865

LIEUTENANT GENERAL GRANT

The President directs me to say to you that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee unless it be for the capitulation of Gen. Lee's army, or on some minor, and purely, military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political question. Such questions the President holds in his own hands; and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions. Meantime you are to press to the utmost, your military advantages.

EDWIN M STANTON  
SECRETARY OF WAR



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Congressman Abraham Lincoln.* By Donald W. Riddle. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1957. Pp. vii[3], 280. \$4.50.)

When Abraham Lincoln returned to Springfield on March 31, 1849, after serving a single term in the House of the Thirtieth Congress, nobody, except perhaps his wife, dreamed he would some day be President of the United States and belong to the ages. And nobody in the Seventh District of Illinois accounted the career of "Spotty" Lincoln, only Whig in the state's delegation, worth writing a book about.

But Dr. Donald W. Riddle has written, and the University of Illinois Press has published such a book. It is *Congressman Abraham Lincoln* and must be included on any severely selected shelf of Lincolniana. Dr. Riddle is head of the division of social science in the Chicago undergraduate branch of the University of Illinois.

Less than three weeks after Lincoln took his seat in Congress, he introduced the famous "spot" resolutions, requesting the President to indicate the exact spot on which the blood of Americans had been shed—the overt act that began the Mexican War. These resolutions, which did not impress his colleagues, haunted Lincoln the rest of his life. His political enemies in Illinois, even after he became a national figure, referred to him as "Spotty" in newspaper editorials, political articles and speeches.

The Sangamon County Whig frequently and bitterly attacked the Democratic Polk administration for its conduct of the "unnecessary" war with Mexico. When he was not criticizing the Polk administration, Congressman Lincoln was running Washington errands for his constituents and working diligently in the field of political patronage for his friends and, in the long view, for himself.

Lincoln had agreed, in order to obtain the Whig nomination in the Seventh District, that he would serve only one term if elected. He honored that agreement. But his "spot" speeches in Congress had been so unpopular that the next Whig candidate in the Seventh District was defeated by the Democratic nominee in the election of 1848.

Abraham Lincoln was more interested in politics and patronage than in lawmaking during his single term in Congress. During his last months in Washington he worked hard to land a federal appointment from General Zachary Taylor, the Whig President-elect for whom Lincoln had campaigned vigorously. Denied the General Land Office, which he had sought, he was offered in turn the secretaryship and, later, the governorship of Oregon Territory, both of which he declined. He returned to Springfield to resume the private practice of law and engage in local and state politics.

Abraham Lincoln may have had no desire to return to the House of Representatives in Washington, but he had ambitions for the Senate. In 1854 he was elected to the Illinois legislature but resigned when he learned that the new state constitution, adopted while he was in Washington, barred a member of the legislature from appointment to the United States Senate during his elected term. United States Senators then were elected by the state legislature. Lincoln wanted to be available. Four years later he was engaged in debate with Stephen A. Douglas in a memorable campaign for a seat in the United States Senate.

Abraham Lincoln sat in the House of Representatives for two years of a period notable for the controversy over the extension of slavery. But Dr. Riddle notes that "the most conspicuous feature of Congressman Lincoln's course with reference to slavery is his discreet silence."

Dr. Riddle's day-by-day record is a useful reference work carefully documented. It is also a most readable narrative that will interest any sophomore in Lincolniana who has read the basic biographies and is reaching for the more detailed, specialized studies. This reviewer rejoices that the University of Illinois Press is publishing books about Lincoln by Illinois writers. Illinois has lost a number of eminent Lincolnians—Randall, Pratt, Thomas—in recent years. Perhaps Dr. Riddle can lead in the Return from Rutgers.

*Decatur*

DAVID V. FELTS

*The Lincoln Legend and Other Programs.* By Donald R. Alter. (Pageant Press, Inc.: New York, 1956. Pp. 130. \$2.50.)

Four programs of readings designed especially for clubs, organizations (such as P.T.A.), churches and schools are contained in this book. "The Lincoln Legend" is the first and from it comes the title. The others are:

"War and Peace," "The Prince of Peace" (especially suitable for the Christmas season) and "Renaissance Portraits." The latter, based on dramatic monologues of Robert Browning, would take considerable practice to present properly and would then be appreciated fully only by Browning enthusiasts.

"The Lincoln Legend" is suitable for presentation to any audience, as are the other two programs, and Dr. Alter's choice of Lincoln poems is inspired. The program is especially valuable because it attempts to set the world straight on the Ann Rutledge romance and the Bixby letter. Dr. Alter's choice of selections is excellent. One can only wish that in connection with the Bixby letter he had also included Lincoln's beautiful and personal letter of sympathy written to Fanny McCullough, December 23, 1862, after the death of her father. It could be included easily without adding more than two minutes or so to the program.

Dr. Alter has been a member of the Social Science Department at Eastern Illinois State College at Charleston for the past twenty-two years. He is also a lecturer on the historical backgrounds of the Old and New Testaments.

S. A. W.

*Marks of Lincoln on Our Land.* By Maurine Whorton Redway and Dorothy Kendall Bracken. (Hastings House: New York, 1957. Pp. 121. \$3.75.)

This little picture book has the threefold purpose of serving as a guide to the Lincoln memorials, telling the essential facts of Lincoln's life, and—the authors hope—stimulating readers to visit the monuments described.

The story begins in Kentucky with the Lincoln Statue at Hodgenville. Pictures of the cabins at Sinking Spring and at Knob Creek Farm are shown with suitable descriptive text. Three more pictures help the reader understand Lincoln's brief but formative years in Indiana. His pioneer life in Illinois is told with halftones of the reconstructed cabin at Goose Nest Prairie in Coles County and ten scenes from New Salem.

Lincoln's mature years are depicted with reproductions of the courthouse at Vandalia, the courthouse and Governor's Mansion at Springfield, and Old Main at Knox College. Lincoln's Springfield residence is also ably described.

Excellent pictures of the Capitol at Washington; the White House, including Lincoln's reconstructed bedroom; Vinnie Ream's statue of Lincoln and Ford's Theatre, portray Lincoln's life as President. The book closes with an impressive picture of the Lincoln Memorial on the Potomac, built at a cost of \$2,900,000—compared to the \$10,000 appropriated for Vinnie Ream. The authors describe the breathtaking majesty of the Memorial but they are objective enough to repeat the criticisms of some contemporaries who main-

tained that the homespun Lincoln should not be memorialized by a Greek temple—no matter how magnificent.

The text in this book enhances the pictures, and the printing and format combine to make an attractive volume which should be particularly popular with school children. Unfortunately there are some errors. Lincoln did not deliver his Cooper Union Address in October, 1859. The suggestion that he grow a beard was not made to him by "a young girl in Illinois," and 1863 was not in "the eighteenth century." Certainly there is no valid reason to believe that Lincoln's mother was "frail." Quite the reverse! She seems to have been the most muscular woman in her pioneer neighborhood. That Tom Lincoln built for his family a "half-faced log and bough camp" in Indiana has been questioned for want of proof. And if Daniel Chester French knew Lincoln—except by reputation—more scholars should be familiar with that fact. These questionable statements are excusable. Errors slip into the most carefully written books. But when the authors copy whole passages from others and present them as their own writing, they deserve severe censure. If this is not plagiarism your reviewer has never seen it. The few passages he recognized and took time to verify certainly make the entire book suspect.

*University of California, Santa Barbara College*

JAY MONAGHAN

*Orville H. Browning: Lincoln's Friend and Critic.* By Maurice G. Baxter. (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1957. [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series No. 16]. Pp. vii, 351. \$4.50.)

Professor Maurice G. Baxter, of Indiana University's history department, has written a definitive biography of Orville Hickman Browning, a project which was begun under the direction of the late Dr. J. G. Randall at the University of Illinois.

Browning was born in Kentucky on February 10, 1806, and attended Augusta College although he did not graduate. Instead, he began to read law in the office of an uncle and was admitted to the bar in 1831. At about the time that Abraham Lincoln arrived at Sangamo Town, Illinois, seven miles northwest of Springfield, Browning moved from Kentucky to Quincy. Thereafter, there is a great similarity in the careers of these two men.

Both Browning and Lincoln served in the Black Hawk War and then returned to build their futures as lawyers, although Lincoln was not admitted to the bar until 1837. In 1836 Browning was elected to the Illinois General Assembly as senator from Adams County and met Lincoln, who had been in the lower house of the Assembly since 1834. Both men were Whigs and joined the ranks of the Republican Party when it was founded in 1856.

Browning also made many speeches to gain support for the new party, but his choice for President in 1860 was Edward Bates of Missouri—not Lincoln. Nevertheless, when Lincoln was nominated by the Illinois State Republican Convention, Browning suppressed his preference for Bates and worked for Lincoln's nomination at the national convention.

After the Republican triumph at the polls, Browning's correspondence with Lincoln greatly increased. He even revised Lincoln's first inaugural address, advised him on the appointment of officials, and sought a high post for himself. When he failed to receive an appointment, Browning asked to be placed on the Supreme Court but was again refused by Lincoln. However, when Stephen A. Douglas died on June 3, 1861, Governor Richard Yates, a Republican, gave Browning an interim appointment as Senator from Illinois. In the Senate he was known as a conservative, and on January 30, 1863, William A. Richardson, who had been chosen by the Illinois legislature, replaced him.

Soon after this, Browning helped organize the law firm of Edgar Cowan, Thomas Ewing, Sr., and Britton A. Hill which practiced in Washington before the United States Supreme Court and the Federal Court of Claims. Browning prospered, but some of his dealings might well be termed "influence peddling." Upon Lincoln's death, Andrew Johnson became President and in July, 1866 Browning was appointed Secretary of the Interior. He held this cabinet position until U. S. Grant was inaugurated in March, 1869.

Being out of office, Browning returned to his law practice at Quincy and in 1869-1870 served as a member of the constitutional convention for the state of Illinois. He fought the efforts of the radical Republicans, yet he did not join the ranks of the Democrats. He often spoke on political matters, but continued his lucrative law practice. Most of his cases from 1869 until 1881 were in behalf of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad since he was its attorney. Although he amassed a large fortune, most of it passed out of his hands as a result of unsound investments. He died on August 10, 1881, at the age of seventy-five.

Dr. Baxter's book is thoroughly documented by source materials, although the footnotes are placed at the back with the bibliography and index. This index is rather brief and no mention of Browning himself is found in it, indicating that publishing costs probably pared the index to a bare minimum.

Nevertheless, this work will prove to be a very valuable tool for scholars in the Lincoln field and interesting reading for those who enjoy biography and history.

*Illinois State Museum*

WAYNE C. TEMPLE

*Pilot Study of Southern Illinois.* By Charles Colby. (Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale, 1956. Pp. 94. \$7.50.)

"This pilot study emphasizes employment and income, the dual centers of interest in any area. It views these centers in the light of conditions which have a bearing on their relative stability in the long run. It attempts to appraise the natural and human resources, the status of the productive plant built by man on the land, and the regional advantages and disadvantages which underlie productive enterprises."

Within this framework, the *Pilot Study* does an excellent job of examining in detail the thirty-four counties in the southern part of Illinois. Chapters cover population; employment and income; conditions affecting employment and income; agriculture and mining in the regional economy; manufacturing in employment and income; trade, services, and scenic resources; social institutions and organization. The book is illustrated by forty-eight figures and thirteen tables, providing an abundance of statistical information.

The book is an important addition to our knowledge of the state of Illinois. It is, to be sure, a pilot study only, a fact which the author emphasizes. It suffers, too, from the limitations inherent in a statistical study. Southern Illinois University will make an important contribution indeed, if it can expand and humanize the work begun by Dr. Colby. And it should be mentioned too, that the expanding Southern Illinois University Press has done a masterful job (albeit in the modern manner) of book production.

One of Dr. Colby's statements provides a fitting conclusion to this review: "Southern Illinois is neither a backward nor a blighted area. It is undeveloped, in part because its regional course has been uncharted, and in part because its land and its men have needed wiser cultivation. The former needs a better system of land use, the other continuing training and experience."

C. C. W.

*Opponents of War, 1917-1918.* By H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite. (University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1937. Pp. 399. \$6.00.)

Perhaps the most vicious by-product of war is the way it inflames men's minds and makes them incapable of rational judgment or action. The viscera take the place of the brain. The braggart becomes more boastful, the cruel more brutal, the cowardly more craven, the shallow more superficial, the fiery more inflammable.

Such is the course in all wars, and it is splendidly worked out in *Opponents of War, 1917-1918*, by H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite. As Professor

Fite notes in the foreword, the book is a collaborative effort, the collaboration being made necessary by the untimely death of Professor Peterson while the writing up of the results of years of research was still incomplete. However, the work is so skillfully done that the reader will never be aware of the transition from the pen of one writer to that of the other. Also the format and type are perfect, and a great credit to the authors and publishers alike.

The book is all that could be asked for. It is well written and, obviously, is the result of careful and painstaking research over many years of time. It covers the persecution of all forms of dissenters and war resisters.

Radical groups, particularly the I. W. W., are given careful consideration. The records of official and unofficial attacks on minority groups, the Negroes, aliens, socialists, conscientious objectors and others, are compiled with careful documentation. The loss of freedom for the press, pulpit and teacher's desk is gone into systematically and impartially. The story moves through over three hundred pages. There are extensive references at the end—which most readers will wish were at the bottom of the appropriate pages of the text—together with a bibliography, an exhaustive list of judicial decisions, and a very complete index.

More legalistic minds might have dwelt more effectively on the way all branches of our government folded up the Bill of Rights and put it away in mothballs; but certainly no one could have done a better job in portraying the activities of the self-appointed saviors of the nation—the vigilantes, the mobsters, and the stooges of the interests that were ready to capitalize on the opportunity to discredit labor, pacifism and liberalism for their own advantage. The authors make clear the complete abandonment of any attempt to deal with facts as such. Everything became a clear-cut struggle in men's minds between all-white and all-black, with anyone to the left of right center falling into the latter classification. Labor leaders were imprisoned or mobbed, clergymen were defrocked, teachers were dismissed, and farmers found their buildings destroyed.irate judges imposed sentences of twenty years' imprisonment in spite of constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, press and assembly. The general sentiment of people and officialdom was reflected in the *Tulsa [Oklahoma] Daily World*: "It is not time to waste money on trials and continuances and things like that." It is hard to decide which were the more lawless, the officers of the law or the mobs that took the law in their own hands. When emotions rule, there are always many who would save democracy by destroying it, and who openly boast of their devotion to the Constitution of the United States, at the same time ignoring the basic principles that make it distinctive, over against all forms of dictatorship, either of the right or the left.

In many respects, the most tragic figure of the period was Woodrow

Wilson. We could expect nothing of a judicial or objective nature in such a time from a man like Theodore Roosevelt, whose scholarship was, at best, shallow, and who was ever a creature of the emotions. But Wilson had a deep and devoted attachment to the basic principles of the essential American tradition. His *The New Freedom* is, to this day, one of the finest expressions of the ideals expounded by Thomas Jefferson. But when Wilson asked Congress to declare that a state of war existed between the United States and Germany, he turned his back on his own idealism and turned loose influences from which we have never fully escaped. The extravagances of the late Senator McCarthy were scarcely more exaggerated than the policies of Attorneys General Gregory and Palmer that are so ably portrayed in this book. The picture of Wilson, torn between two interpretations, is a sorry one indeed. He seems to have developed a split personality long before the Denver stroke that laid him low. He was willing to pay any price to "make the world safe for democracy," and at the same time he denied the very basic principles of democracy at home. The confused American people, faced with the choice of incompatible ideals, forsook both, martyred their leader, left Europe to stew in its own juice, and made World War II inevitable.

All this and much more is portrayed in graphic and very readable style in the book under review. Each chapter is a unit in itself, so that the book may be read handily by the busy man who snatches a few minutes at a time to devote to reading. To those of us whose memories actually recall those hectic days of 1917-1918, the detailed account of the experiences we observed and lived through will serve to strengthen our determination to bear up against and discredit every manifestation of Palmerism, McCarthyism, and kindred influences that would save the United States by destroying our essential tradition as found in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights of the Constitution.

*Cornell College (Mount Vernon, Iowa)*

C. F. LITTELL

*Seventy-Five Years in Retrospect.* By Eli G. Lentz. (Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale, 1955. Pp. 160. \$3.00.)

This book is a model of compactness. In 118 pages of text the author relates the history of Southern Illinois University through its first seventy-five years. His prefatory comment that "the following sketches make no pretense of being more than a brief memorial to those who laid the substantial foundations" is quite an understatement. His book is a very substantial contribution to the history of education in Illinois with particular reference to its southern counties, popularly designated as Egypt.

*Seventy-Five Years in Retrospect* was written to commemorate the diamond jubilee of the University. The author, Eli G. Lentz, was professor of history at the institution from 1914 to his retirement in 1950. These facts, however, have not affected his objective approach to his task.

This school arose from the imperative need for trained teachers and educational leadership in southern Illinois. Training teachers remains a basic function of the institution. But demands for liberal arts education led to a gradual expansion of curriculum, personnel and facilities. The University was the final answer to this demand.

The major theme of this study is the development of the academic program and administrative organization as the school evolved from Normal School (1874) to Teachers' College (1928) to University (1943). The evolution of democratic practices in administration from joint responsibility of the entire faculty to use of the committee system, council of administration, faculty senate, and student participation is outlined. Sketches of the eight presidents and of various teachers, especially of the earlier years, relate their contributions to the philosophy and practices of the institution.

The regional importance of the University is emphasized. From the foundation of the Normal School the institution has led the movement for better public schools in southern Illinois. It welcomed the youth of the depression years and helped them through college. Today it actively participates in regional research and promotion of regional economic and social progress, provides expert consultant services in agriculture, industry, government and other fields.

Expansion of the facilities as the school grew from fifty acres and one building to five hundred acres with eleven major and thirty-six temporary buildings is adequately described, including the difficulties encountered. Student life—athletics, social activities, clubs, housing, student government, etc.—are given only brief consideration.

The format of the book is excellent. A three-page chronology of major events precedes the text. Lists of the faculties and boards of trustees are included in appendices for the convenience of those interested. This listing avoids cluttering the text with a multiplicity of names. Enclosed in a back-cover pocket is a chart of the curricular development. Some thirty illustrations add to the value of the text, and there is an excellent index.

*Springfield*

MARY WATTERS

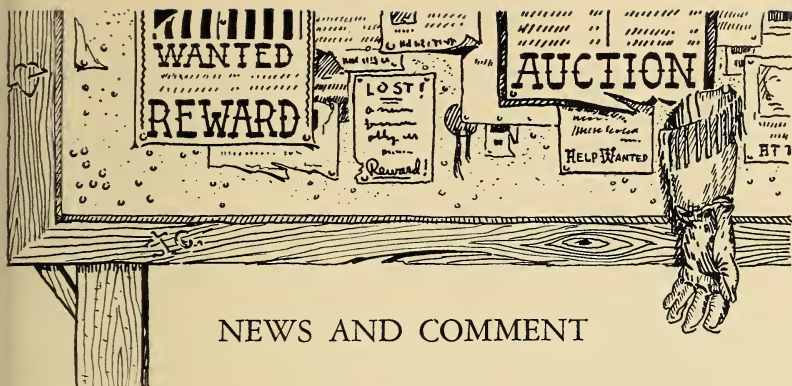
## FAMILY HISTORIES

In the Summer, 1956 issue of this *Journal* were listed the names of those who had presented family histories to the Illinois State Historical Library.

Since the publication of that list the Library wishes to thank the following for gifts of genealogies:

- Alison.* {*Chart of the Descendants of John Alison, Revolutionary Soldier*}, from Lanville F. Alison, Quincy.
- Ball.* Roy Hutton Ball, *Conquering the Frontier. A Biography of One Branch of the Ball Family*, from the author, Oklahoma City, Okla.
- Baskin.* Raymond Martin Bell, "The Baskins-Baskin Family," from the author, Washington, Pa.
- Bonnell.* Margaret Watson Cooke, "The Bonnell Family," from the author, Springfield.
- Boyneburg.* See *Rubincam*.
- Brant.* Ralph A. Brant, "[Brant-Brandt Family. Miscellaneous Notes and Correspondence]," from the author, Tulsa, Okla.
- Burgess.* Kenneth F. Burgess, *Colonists of New England and Nova Scotia. Burgess and Heckman Families*, from the author, Chicago.
- Caldwell.* Lela Cunningham Knox, "The Genealogy of the Caldwell-Stuart Family of Virginia and Bath County, Kentucky" from Mrs. E. C. Knox, Independence, Mo.
- Cantrall.* See *Estill*.
- Comly.* George Norwood Comly, *Supplement to Comly Family in America*, from the author, Moylan-Rose Valley, Pa.
- Covert.* Leslie A. Covert, ed., "Bassett's Notes on Coverts," from the editor, Champaign.
- Crosby.* Edson Crosby, "Samuel Crosby of Briston, New York: Ancestors—Descendants" (photostatic copy), from the author, Pasadena, Calif.
- Current.* Martha Belle Hall, *Family of Matthew Current Who Married Jane Wilson Call*, from W. R. McCann, Hopewell, Va.
- Daniels.* *Daniel(l)s Family Notes*, Vol. I, nos. 1 & 2 (Feb. and May, 1956), from the Daniels-Daniells Family Notes, Baltimore 28, Md.
- De Schweinitz.* Milton Rubincam, "The de Schweinitz Family of Pennsylvania," from the author, West Hyattsville, Md.
- Estill.* James K. Young, "The Estill-Cantrall-Price Family," from the author, Springfield. (See also *Williams*.)
- Fobes.* Harry E. Forbes, "History of the Forbes-Fobes Family in Scotland and Holland," from the author, Hemet, Calif.
- Gilmore.* Josephine Gilmore Chaffee, "The Gilmore Story," from the author, Santa Ana, Calif.
- Gleim.* Milton Rubincam, "The Family of Balthasar Gleim, of Eschwege," from the author, West Hyattsville, Md.
- Heckman.* See *Burgess*.
- Helm.* Nettie Overturf Randolph and Charles E. Randolph, *The Helm Family. Ancestors and Descendants of Robert Box Helm*, from the authors, La Grange.
- Jacoby.* Mrs. Helen E. Jacoby Evard, *Descendants of Bartholomew Jacoby*, from the author, Greenfield, Ind.
- Keand.* W. R. McCann, "Some Descendants of John Keand of Whithorn, Scotland," from the author, Hopewell, Va.

- Knapp.* Alfred Averill Knapp, "Job Knapp and Some of his Descendants" and *Supplement to Nicholas Knapp Genealogy*, from the author, Winter Park, Fla.
- Leas.* Fay W. Leas, *Leas Genealogy*, from Mrs. Emma Leas, Waterloo, Ind.
- Letton.* Estelle Clark Watson, "Some Lettons and Willetts," from Fort Dearborn Chapter, D. A. R.
- McCann.* See *Keand*.
- Maitland.* Mrs. Gertrude Metlen Wolfram, "The Saga of a Pioneer Family: the Maitlands, Mettlens and Metlens," from the author, Zarephath, N. J.
- Medaris.* Margaret Watson Cooke, "The Thomas Medaris Family of Clermont Co., Ohio," from the author, Springfield.
- Mettlen.* See *Maitland*.
- Meyer.* Camden M. Meyer, *The Descendants of Johann Heinrich Meyer, 1783-1956*, from the author, Shoshone, Idaho.
- Miscellaneous.* Estelle Perkins, ed. "5 Generation Ancestral Lineages 1956," from the editor, Seattle, Wash.
- Olcott.* Mary L. B. Olcott, *The Olcotts and Their Kindred*, from the estate of Mary L. B. Olcott.
- Price.* See *Estill*.
- Rubincam.* Milton Rubincam, "The Pedigree of Anna Juliana von Boyneburg gennant Hoenstein (1646-1703) . . ." and "Studies in Ancestral Biography," nos 1-3, from the author, West Hyattsville, Md.
- Stebbins.* John A. Stebbins, *A Genealogy and History of Some Stebbins Lines*, from the author, East Lancaster, Calif.
- Stuart.* See *Caldwell*.
- Swayne.* Norman Walton Swayne, *Swaynes Descended from Francis Swayne*, from the author, Newton, Pa.
- Triplet.* Leonard Lytle, *The Descendants of Joseph Triplet of Hardy County, West Virginia*, from the author, Detroit, Mich.
- Willett.* See *Letton*.
- Williams.* James K. Young, "The Genealogy of the Williams-Estill Family," from the author, Springfield.
- Wright.* W. R. McCann, *Ancestors—Descendants of James Wilson Wright, Sr. Who Married Cynthia Rebecca Jones*, from the author, Hopewell, Va.



## NEWS AND COMMENT

### CIVIL WAR EXHIBIT AT THE STATE FAIR

The Illinois State Historical Society and Library sponsored an exhibit at the Illinois State Fair in Springfield this year for the first time. The exhibit, titled "Illinois in the Civil War," occupied the entire east window of the Illinois Building and featured the Library's draft of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address (displayed in a case made especially to protect it from light and heat) and the large oil painting of Lincoln by Charles A. Sweet from the Library's collection. Each visitor to the exhibit received a facsimile copy of the Address and an illustrated broadside containing a description of the Historical Society's work and a membership invitation. These were distributed by a young woman dressed in a costume of the Civil War era and a young man in the uniform of a Union soldier.

The remainder of the exhibit, occupying about sixty feet of window space, consisted of photographs, original letters and broadsides, sheet music, newspapers and other historic memorabilia from the Library's collections. The materials were mounted on large glass-covered easel-like panels, arranged to present a chronological story of the Civil War.

The first panel began with a newspaper story about the firing on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, and included documents dealing with the mobilization of Illinois troops, photographs of Governor Richard Yates, and a letter from a soldier who wrote, "... the Governor is the idol of the Soldiers. they Love him next to their 'Wives.'"

Panel II presented an account of the state's fighting forces with photographs of the thirteen Illinois major generals in the Civil War, a map of the state showing the number of soldiers from each county, and a letter from Colonel Robert Ingersoll of Peoria, who complained about the President's

military appointments: "When will Mr. Lincoln stop appointing idiots because they come from Ills or are related to his *charming* wife"?

Three panels in the series dealt with the Illinois soldier in action, beginning with a chart which listed more than sixty major encounters in which Illinois men took part. The illustrative material on each battle or campaign represented in the display was headed by a quotation from a participant. Of the Battle of Fort Donelson, February 15, 1862, an Illinois soldier wrote, "... this is truly an Illinois Victory." After the Battle of Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862, General U. S. Grant defended his strategy there in a letter in the display: "Those people who expect a field of battle to be maintained, for a whole day, with about 30,000 troops, most of them entirely raw, against 70,000, as was the case at Pittsburg Landing ... without loss of life, know little of war."

The inevitable conflict between regular and volunteer soldiers was reflected in a letter from General (later Governor) John M. Palmer, who wrote his wife after the battle at Stone's River (Murfreesboro, Tennessee): "The regular army officers will as usual claim and probably receive the largest share of the honor but the truth is my Division saved the Army.... I have my full surfeit of fighting.... Nine days of uproar and noise.... I got mighty tired of being a General."

Attracting the most attention were panels dealing with Lincoln's assassination and Civil War prisons. The former included black silk mourning badges, emblazoned with Lincoln photographs, and pictures of Laura Keene, leading lady of the Ford Theatre's presentation on the night of the assassination, of Lincoln's funeral train and hearse, and of Illinois towns draped in mourning.

A letter from Mrs. Lincoln, dated several months after the President's death, was also on display. She wrote to a friend, "Time does not reconcile me to the loss of the most devoted & loving husband a sadly afflicted woman ever possessed."

The prison exhibit, titled "Prisons in Illinois" and "Illinoisans in Prison," showed rare colored lithographs of scenes at the Andersonville, Georgia, prison for Union soldiers and at the prison for Confederates at Rock Island, Illinois. Also there were photographs of other Union and Confederate prisons and letters from captured soldiers. A guard at Rock Island wrote that the prisoners were "dieing off verry fast.... It takes too [two] to make a shadow."

Other panels in the display were devoted to Civil War entertainment and social life, the election of 1864, the returning veteran, the deaths of two noted Illinoisans, Stephen A. Douglas and Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth, and Illinois training camps.

## PAST PRESIDENT SCERIAL THOMPSON DIES

Scerial Thompson, a director and past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, died at his home in Harrisburg on July 16. He was also a past president of the Southern Illinois Historical Society and had served the Saline County Society in various offices.

Mr. Thompson was born in Paragould, Arkansas, on August 27, 1901, the son of Thomas P. and Rose Armes Thompson. He was graduated from Harrisburg Township High School in 1919 and passed the Illinois Bar examination after reading law in the offices of several established Harrisburg attorneys. He had been a practicing lawyer for more than thirty years.

Mr. Thompson was elected a director of the State Historical Society in 1946 for the regular three-year term and was named president at the golden anniversary meeting in October, 1949. He was a director at the time of his death, having been elected to his second term in 1954.

In addition to serving as an officer in various historical societies, Mr. Thompson was a collector of historical materials and was in demand as a speaker before historical groups. Also he wrote articles for historical publications, two of which appeared in this *Journal*: "A Century Ago in Saline County," in the June, 1947 issue, and "The Cherokee Cross Egypt," in the Winter, 1951 number.

## CERTIFICATES FOR LIFE MEMBERS

For the first time since the organization was founded life members of the Illinois State Historical Society will now have certificates attesting their interest in the history of their state and in the only group formed to foster that interest. These eight-by-eleven-inch certificates are printed in two colors on parchment and are suitable for framing. Each bears the hand-lettered name and address of the member, the signatures of the president and secretary-treasurer, and the seal of the Society. Each certificate is numbered in the order in which the names appear on the records of the Society. There are now 115 life members.

SOCIETY GIVES *ILLINOIS HISTORY* SUBSCRIPTIONS

Twenty subscriptions to *Illinois History* magazine have been presented to the Fairfield schools—ten to the high school and ten to the grade school—by the Wayne County Historical Society. Wasson W. Lawrence, a director of the Illinois State Historical Society, made the presentation on behalf of the Wayne County Society. The gift, Lawrence stated, reflects the Society's interest in encouraging the study of local history by young people.

## LIBRARY RECEIVES MEXICAN WAR DIARY

The Historical Library has received from Keith Neville of North Platte, Nebraska, a reprint of the Mexican War diary of his grandfather, Harvey Neville. Neville is the son of William Neville, the youngest son of the author. According to the Reports of the Illinois Adjutant General, Harvey Neville was first lieutenant of Company A of the Second Regiment Illinois Volunteers in the Mexican War in 1846. In the Civil War he was first lieutenant of Company H of the Twenty-second Illinois Infantry. In 1862 he was made captain of Company H. Lieutenant Neville was a very observant young man and his *Mexican War Diary* records in detail the scenery, vegetation and people to which his service introduced him.

## STORIES FROM ILLINOIS HISTORY

The first two issues of a series of four-page illustrated brochures, titled *Stories from Illinois History* and written especially for fifth and sixth grade students, are off the press. The author of the texts is Phyllis Connolly, director of the *Illinois History* program of the Illinois State Historical Society and Historical Library. The latter will distribute the brochures free of charge to interested students, schools, teachers, or libraries. The subjects of the first two of the series are "Marquette and Jolliet" and "LaSalle and Tonty." The ten subsequent issues planned thus far will be about Shadrach Bond, Black Hawk, Pioneer Schools, the Slavery Struggle in Illinois, Stephen A. Douglas, the Mormons, Capitals of Illinois, Railroads, Airplanes, and Facts about the Governors. Each brochure is eight and one-half by eleven inches in size and is punched to fit either a two-ring or a three-ring loose-leaf notebook. Anyone wishing to be put on the mailing list should address: *Stories from Illinois History*, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield.

## PRESIDENT OF GALENA SOCIETY DIES

Mrs. Myrtle Renwick Heer, for many years president of the Galena Historical Society, died on July 17 in Finley Hospital, Dubuque, Iowa, where she had been a patient for about six weeks. Mrs. Heer was born in Rush Township, Jo Daviess County, on June 25, 1877, the daughter of Robert B. and Alvina Cornelius Renwick. Although in recent years her principal interest had been in the Historical Society and its museum she had earlier served in a number of civic positions. She was formerly county school superintendent, principal of the Galena High School, superintendent of the Sunday School of the First Presbyterian Church, a charter member of the Galena Woman's

Club and secretary of the Galena Public Library Board. As president of the Galena Historical Society she was chairman of the reception committee when the Illinois State Historical Society held its Fifty-sixth annual meeting at Galena in October, 1955. Mrs. Heer is survived by her husband, Attorney H. L. Heer, a son, Renwick Heer of Minneapolis, and three grandchildren.

### JAMES MADISON LETTERS BEING SOUGHT

Letters by or to James Madison or his wife are being sought for publication in a new and complete edition of the papers of the fourth President to be sponsored by the University of Chicago and the University of Virginia. The editors will appreciate information about the location of letters, especially those in private possession or among uncalendared manuscripts in the collections of public or private institutions. Address: The Papers of James Madison, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37.

### SELECTIVE SERVICE HISTORY

A limited number of copies of the book *Selective Service in Illinois, 1940-1947* has been presented to the Illinois State Historical Library for free distribution to interested historians and the libraries of towns, schools, and veterans' organizations. The distribution will be on a first-come-first-served basis until the supply is exhausted. The book, which was written by Colonel Victor Kleber, bears the subtitle "A complete history of the operation of the Selective Service System in Illinois from its inception on September 16, 1940 to its termination on March 31, 1947." The 522-page, hard-cover volume contains 290 pages of text, an appendix of 220 pages and an index of 12 pages. Copies of this book may be obtained by writing to: Clyde C. Walton, State Historian, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.

### ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Alton Area Historical Society closed its activities for the 1956-1957 season with a meeting on May 19 in Haskell House. Mrs. Harry L. Meyer spoke on the settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, which this summer is celebrating its 350th anniversary. Mrs. Harry Lemp talked on Arlington National Cemetery, and Mrs. Frank J. Stobbs on Vaughn National Cemetery.

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Officers of the newly organized Arlington Heights Historical Society are: A. F. Volz, president; Theodore Militzer, vice-president; Mrs. Milton F. Daniels, secretary; Mrs. Marjorie Allen, corresponding secretary; Paul Patrick,

custodian; and Virgil Horath, treasurer. Members of the group are writing historical sketches of various aspects of community history.

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The Bond County Historical Society met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Arville Holbrook on July 9. Mr. Holbrook told about and showed his collection of clocks. C. Douglas Hoiles reported on the site of Hill's Fort. John Woodward was elected to the board of directors to fill the vacancy caused by the death of E. W. Merry.

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Charles Nihan, Boone County superintendent of schools, addressed the Boone County Historical Society on May 16 on the value of the student historian program. Minerva Blackburn of the Belvidere High School faculty showed slides of her recent European trip.

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One hundred guests attended the Bureau County Historical Society's second annual open house at its museum in Princeton on May 19. Special features of the exhibits were photographs from the H. W. Immke collection—particularly those taken when the first railroad track was laid in the county in 1854—and Charles Matteson's collection of barbershop mugs.

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The Elmhurst Junior Chamber of Commerce presented its "Citizen of the Year" award for 1957 to President H. A. Berens of the Du Page County Historical Society for his work in opening the Elmhurst Historical Museum.

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Mrs. Robert Booth is head of a group which is attempting to organize an Erie Historical Society. The village library will exhibit the material to be gathered.

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The Finnish-American Historical Society of Illinois, organized in September, 1955, held its summer festival June 9 at the Odd Fellows Hall in DeKalb. Toimi Makela and Sinikka Puistolahti were in charge of arrangements. The Society is gathering data on the activities and accomplishments of Illinoisans of Finnish descent, and hopes eventually to publish this information.

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Officers of the Galena Historical Society, elected June 17, are: Mrs. George T. Millhouse, Jr., president; Dr. R. E. Logan, vice-president; Paul Herbert, secretary; and J. T. Hissem, treasurer. Richard S. Hagen, who has been in charge of the restoration of the Grant Home for the State Division of Parks and Memorials, was elected to the Society's board of directors.

At the annual meeting of the Geneva Historical Society on May 26 plaques were awarded to two century-old houses in Geneva—the Mayborne house, now the home of Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Burgess, and the Larrabee house, now the property of William D. Blatner. Mrs. Margaret Allan and Mary Wheeler read short historical sketches of these houses, and the Society's president, Dr. Charles H. Lyttle, presented the plaques to their present owners. Gifts made to the Society during the past year were acknowledged and many were on exhibition.

All officers were re-elected: Dr. Lyttle, president; Frank Jarvis and Miss Wheeler, vice-presidents; Mrs. Allan, secretary; Jeanita Peterson, treasurer; Oliver Adamson and Alice Swarthout, directors. The holdover directors are William J. Bullock, Mrs. O. B. Simon, Mrs. R. A. Davis and Harold L. Smith.

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Officers of the Greene County Historical Society are: R. L. Scott, president; Mrs. O. T. Purl, vice-president; Mrs. Charles Neal, secretary; and J. J. Eldred, treasurer.

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The Jersey County Historical Society, inactive for several years, was reorganized on May 10 and the following officers were elected: Arch D. Nelson, president; Paul Fleming, vice-president; Celia Sinclair, secretary; Cora Lofton, treasurer; Joseph R. Fulkerson, Mrs. Theodore S. Chapman and Arthur Thatcher, directors.

President Nelson represented the Society in ceremonies on May 26 at the monument in Otterville to George Washington, a former slave who founded the educational fund bearing his name. The chief address was by Clayton Williams of Alton. The Society is joining with other groups in a campaign to have this monument made a state memorial.

Prentiss D. Cheney addressed the group on June 14 on "Early Jersey County History" and showed part of his collection of old firearms. As the July meeting would have conflicted with the Jersey County Fair, it was canceled in favor of a historical exhibit at the Fair. The group now has more than 200 paid members.

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President Ralph Francis of the Illinois State Historical Society, and Clermont DeSelm, Donald Gray and Jack Rutherford, all members of the Kankakee County Historical Society, conducted a round-table discussion on the Civil War at the American Legion meeting on May 28.

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The La Salle County Historical Society met in Earlville on May 19. Mrs. Harlow Miller read a historical sketch of Earlville; Mrs. Edward Carus

described her role in the woman suffrage movement; and Mrs. Joseph Smith of Mendota read a paper written by Mrs. William Nashold on the life of Prudence Crandall Philleo, who raised a controversy in Connecticut by opening a school for Negroes in 1832, and later lived in Mendota.

The Society toured the Carson Museum in Utica on July 14, following which Dr. Hugh Black entertained the members at a picnic supper and related historic incidents of Vermillion Township. The Society voted to co-operate with any organizations observing the centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Ottawa on August 21, 1858.

---

Mrs. O. L. Hawk addressed the Libertyville-Mundelein Historical Society on April 22 on Libertyville streets and those who named them. On June 30 members of the Society took a thirty-mile bus tour to historic spots of Lake County.

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The annual spring meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held on April 28 at the Wanda Methodist Church. Papers on the early history of the church and of the settlement (formerly known as Salem) were read by Ruby Roseberry, Charles E. Gillham and Mrs. Ethel Duffey. Mrs. Dorothy Dike sang a solo, and the Rev. W. O. Reinhardt, pastor of the church, gave the invocation and welcome.

President Donald F. Lewis of the Society joined the Land o' Goshen Historical Society of Edwardsville in protesting the use of Lusk Memorial Park, Alton, for recreational purposes. The park was originally a cemetery.

---

Mrs. Andrew S. Calder gave a historical sketch of La Prairie at the Marshall County Historical Society's meeting there on May 29. This concluded the first series of meetings in each township of the county.

A marker commemorating Fort Darnell, a historical sketch of which was given in this *Journal* for October, 1934, was dedicated in Cumberland Cemetery on July 14. Mrs. Ethel Judd Caldwell, Mrs. Lola French Smith and Gertrude French spoke. Eleanor Bussell, secretary of the Society, accepted the marker on behalf of the group. Descendants of the families who lived in the fort during the Black Hawk War were instrumental in providing the marker.

The Society met at the Pattonsburg Christian Church on July 21 for a potluck picnic, and Mrs. I. L. Davis and Roscoe Ball gave short talks on the history of the vicinity. The members then drove to Martin's (or Oak Ridge), Crow Meadow and Bell cemeteries and the cornfield now on the site of Bell's Crossing, once an active stage depot and the metropolis of the present Marshall County.

The Mattoon Historical Society met on June 19 and heard Dr. Charles H. Coleman's report of the Illinois State Historical Society spring tour, and short talks by Gary Robertson and Clarence Bell.

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Alberta Balmer reviewed articles from the *Palimpsest*, of the State Historical Society of Iowa, on the Mormons and spoke on the contributions of the Icarians at the meeting of the Nauvoo Historical Society on April 16. David Scott showed films on "Lincoln in Illinois."

A business meeting was held on July 16. The Society sponsored tours of Nauvoo at intervals through the summer, and an exhibit of paintings by Lane K. Newberry. A large old wine press, the gift of the Gem City Vineland Company, has been placed in the wine cellar of the Society's museum in Nauvoo State Park.

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State Historian Clyde C. Walton addressed the twentieth anniversary meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society in February. Officers of the Society are: Kenneth A. Sperbeck, president; Ralph G. Newman, vice-president; Mrs. Irwin S. Maze, recording secretary; Mrs. Florence V. Hall, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. L. Soyer, treasurer.

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The Ogle County Historical Society presented a pageant, "Polo, This Is Your Life," on May 22 in connection with the Polo centennial celebration. Also in connection with this celebration a marker, placed by the Society in April marking the sites of the first cabin and first store in Buffalo Grove (now part of Polo), was dedicated.

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The Palatine Historical Society entertained the Arlington Heights Historical Society in May. Alan Bennett of the Arlington Heights Society was the principal speaker, telling of the old cemetery near the Knupper nursery.

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Ernest E. East, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, was the speaker at the annual dinner meeting of the Peoria Historical Society held on May 27. Officers of the Society re-elected at this meeting are: Raymond N. Brons, president; Mrs. J. C. Thompson, vice-president; Gerald T. Kelsch, secretary; and G. R. Barnett, treasurer. Philip Becker, Jr., Mrs. W. D. Ulrich and Clarence L. Johnson were elected to the board of directors.

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Mrs. Elizabeth Spurgeon of Pinckneyville spoke on genealogical research at the meeting of the Perry County Historical Society at Tamaroa on May 6. Carol Lee, daughter of the Society's president Raymond E. Lee, sang two solos.

Herbert Kaiser gave an illustrated talk on his trip to Europe before the Piatt County Historical Society on July 29.

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Officers of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County, re-elected at the annual meeting on June 9, are: George Irwin, president; James W. Carrott and Oliver B. Williams, vice-presidents; William J. Dieterich, recording secretary; Mrs. William C. Wessels, corresponding secretary; Harvey H. Sprick, treasurer; W. Edwin Brown, William F. Gerdes and Edward P. Lannan, trustees. Mrs. Edna Bradford Williams, curator of the Society's museum for the past 17 years, died on May 16.

---

Governor William G. Stratton having signed the bill appropriating \$27,500 for work at the Pierre Menard Home in Fort Kaskaskia State Park, the Randolph County Historical Society devoted its meeting at Red Bud on June 20 to discussing ways and means of aiding the restoration. With President Ebers R. Schweizer presiding, the discussion was led by Richard S. Hagen and Berry S. Tracy of the State Division of Parks and Memorials. Some of the original furnishings of the Home have been located in Texas, and these and other pieces of the 1800-1830 period will be purchased for the house. The purpose is to duplicate as near as possible the appearance it presented when Illinois' first lieutenant governor lived there. The project is expected to take from two and a half to three years.

Randolph County Clerk Clyde Hamilton addressed the Society on April 25 on the importance of microfilming the county records dating back to the formation of the county as a part of the Northwest Territory. The Society voted to endorse the program and co-operate in its support. John Boxdorfer, representing the Chester Chamber of Commerce, outlined his organization's program for improvements in and around the city. The meeting was held in the Chester Library.

A heavy rainstorm on May 19 forced postponement of the tea and historical pageant scheduled for that date at the Menard Home. The program was carried out a week later, however, with the pageant presented by speech students of the Sparta Township High School under the direction of Miss Pat Bahn. The action centered around Lafayette's visit to Illinois in 1825.

Hortense Hood reviewed the history of the First United Presbyterian Church of Sparta at the Society's meeting July 18 at Sparta.

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Officers of the Rock Island County Historical Society elected April 30 are: Bestor Witter, president; Howard Parkhurst, vice-president; Mrs. H. W. Coddington, secretary; Eugene Mueller, treasurer; Joseph E. Rosborough, Carl

Mitchell, Eugene Mueller, Carl Waldman and Mrs. Kathryn Skinner, directors. Jane Aiken read her article "Capitals and Capitols" from the April issue of *Illinois History* magazine, and Jane Carlson and Sarah Jacobs of Augustana College presented musical selections. Mrs. James Burke and Mrs. Virgil Simpson spoke briefly on the Hauberg family, following which the group toured the newly opened John H. Hauberg Civic Center.

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The Rockton Township (Winnebago County) Historical Society reopened the Stephen Mack Home to the public during the past summer, and conducted a variety of activities to raise funds to complete its restoration.

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The Saline County Historical Society met on May 7 in the Mitchell-Carnegie Library in Harrisburg. Two films were shown: "Historic Southern Illinois," made and narrated by William Farley, and "Illinois State Parks," from the state Department of Conservation. E. B. Webster spoke on "Early Trails of Southern Illinois." President Louis E. Aaron reported on the Illinois State Historical Society's spring tour to Macomb, Carthage and Nauvoo.

The Society met at the home of Dr. Joe Bryant in Ridgway on June 4. Superintendent W. A. Robins conducted the members on a tour of the Blevin popcorn plant, the largest in the world, and the Rev. Fr. John Venegoni took them through St. Joseph's Catholic Church. Following a potluck dinner, facets of Ridgway history were brought out by Dan Collins, Fred Kimbro, Mrs. Susan Hatfield, Mrs. Arvilla Shain Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth Cox, Mrs. Grace Hale, the Rev. L. C. Irby of the Baptist Church, and Tom Colnon.

The meeting at Cave-in-Rock on July 2 consisted of a potluck dinner, a tour of the cave led by C. C. Kerr, and reviews of two books about southern Illinois—*The Outlaws of Cave-in-Rock*, reviewed by Woodrow Frailey, and *Virginia Rose*, written by E. P. Roe of Shawneetown and reviewed by Louis E. Aaron. John W. Allen, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and Mrs. Allen were special guests at this meeting.

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The annual meeting of the Stephenson County Historical Society on June 23 centered around the history of the Taylor homestead, now the Society's museum, which this year is one hundred years old. The Society discussed preliminary plans for the celebration in 1958 of the centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport. Ruth A. Winn is president of the group and Philip L. Keister, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, secretary.

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The Vandalia Historical Society held its last meeting of the 1956-1957 year on May 21. The traditional picnic meeting honoring the Student His-

torians had to be moved inside because of inclement weather. Wauneta Griffin introduced Catherine Pettie, Billy and Tom Cocagne, Jerry Brock-Jones, Phyllis Daniels, Rand Shulman and Harold Walker, each of whom told of material submitted for publication in *Illinois History* magazine.

Seven members of the Literati Club of Effingham High School, of which Mary Burtschi is the sponsor—Marilyn Strobel, Tom Kasinger, Rachel McCallen, Beverly Tilley, Sally Siddens, Barbara Webb and Ramon Tate—discussed various aspects of the life and work of James Hall, Vandalia's first literary figure.

The Society held an informal open house for Vandalians returning to the city on Memorial Day.

The Society's museum, located in the home of James Rexwinkle at 212 West Gallatin Street, is open from 2 to 5 P.M. Tuesdays through Saturdays without charge. Among gifts recently acquired are a frow said to have been used by Abraham Lincoln to make shingles, and a copy of the rare *Autobiography of Frederick G. Hollman*, a member of the Ernst colony, a gift of his great-granddaughter Mrs. Elona Dugdale Kindschi.

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The Wayne County Historical Society met at the Fairfield Public Library on April 26, May 31 and June 28. At the May meeting State Historian Clyde C. Walton was the speaker. In June Peter G. Rapp and John Quindry were elected directors, and the following officers re-elected: Wasson W. Lawrence, president; Kelley A. Loy, vice-president; Wilma Slagel, corresponding secretary; Lila Stonemetz, recording secretary; and John Lappin, treasurer.

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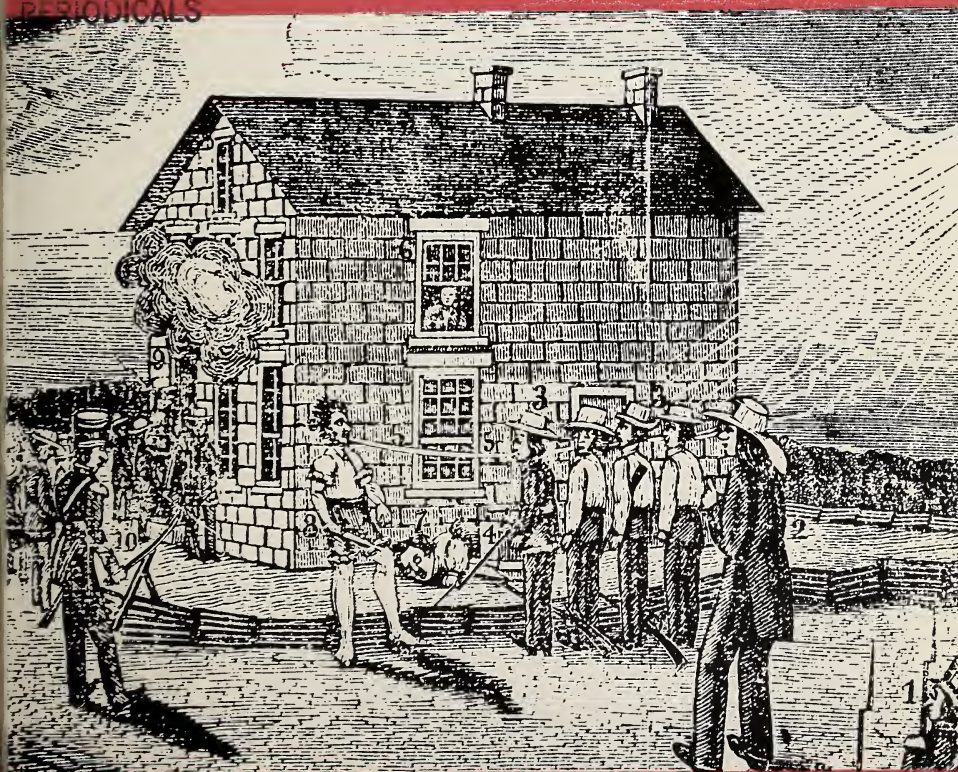
The Williamson County Historical Society on July 7 heard Mrs. Fred Wykes of Benton describe the "Evolution of Architecture of American Homes" from 1607 to the twentieth century. The Society voted to compile a folder describing its work in the three years since it was organized.

#### INDEX TO 1956 *JOURNAL* DISTRIBUTED

Copies of the Index to Volume XLIX of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*—the four issues published during 1956—have been distributed. The forty-three-page index, as usual, has a four-page loose cover containing the year's table of contents. These indexes will be supplied free of charge to individuals and institutions who wish them for binding or for reference. Address: Clyde C. Walton, State Historian, Centennial Building, Springfield.

*Journal*  
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THE DEATH OF JOSEPH SMITH

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

WINTER 1957

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(For further information see inside of back cover)

*Journal*  
*of the*  
**ILLINOIS STATE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



VOLUME L

NUMBER 4

WINTER 1957

Published four times a year, Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter

WILLIAM G. STRATTON, Governor  
STATE OF ILLINOIS

(Printed by authority of the State of Illinois)



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(70622—1-58)

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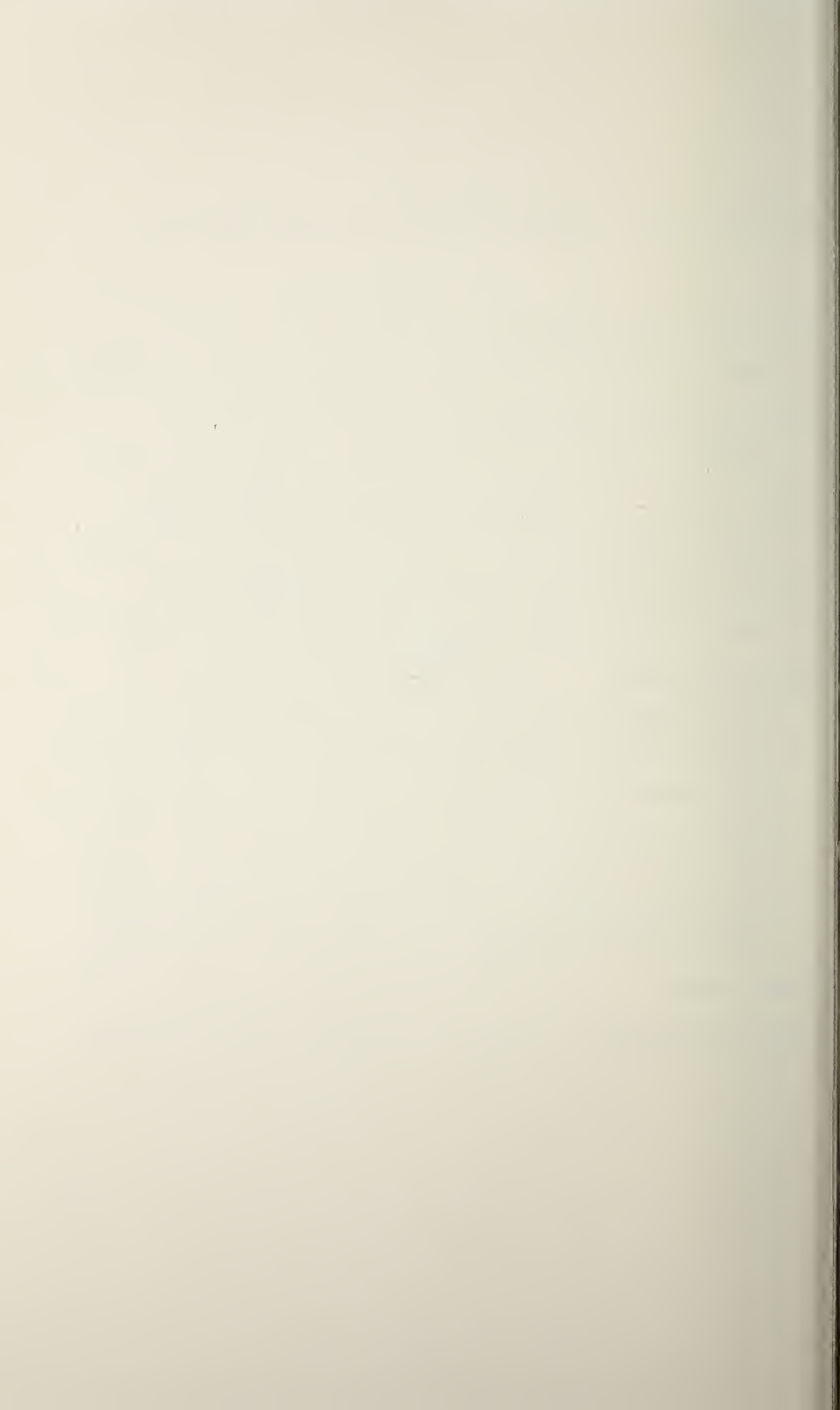
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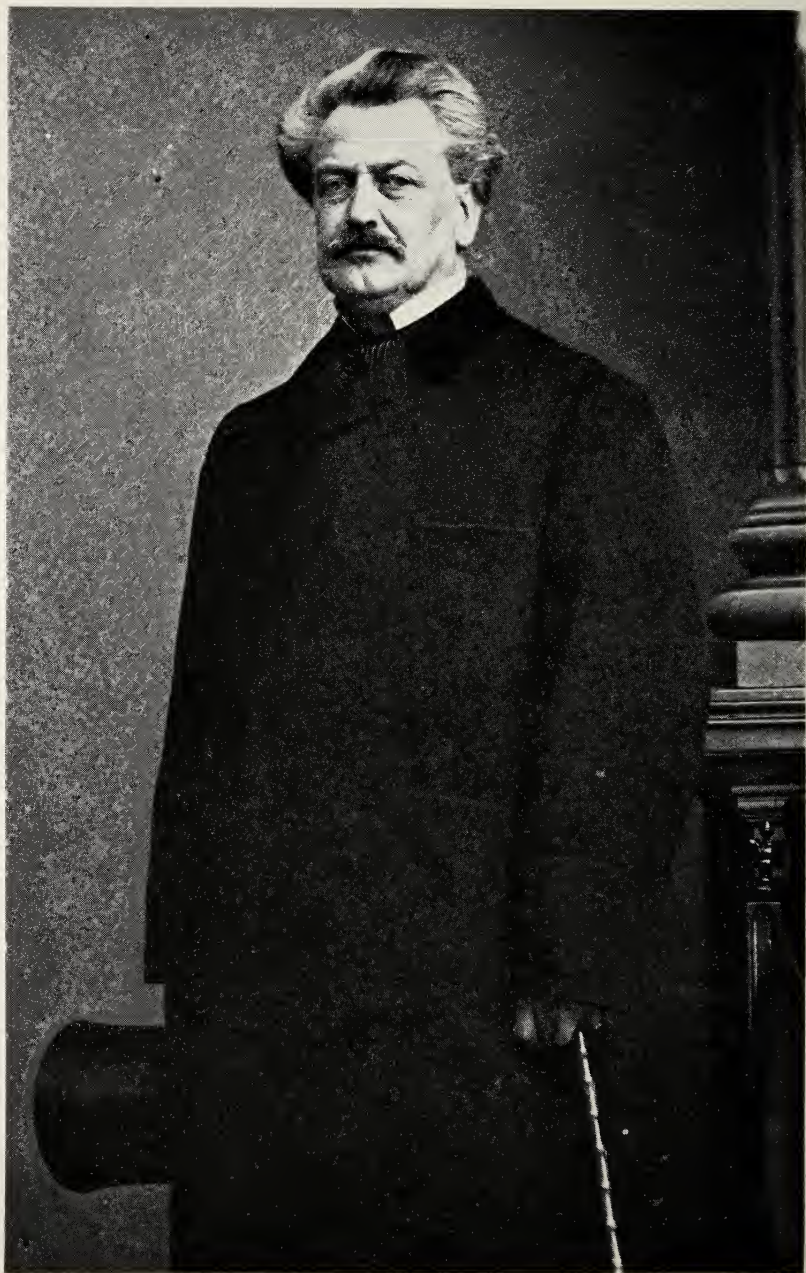
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HIRAM BARNEY

This picture was enlarged from the original Mathew Brady negative in the collection of Frederick H. Meserve. It was provided through the courtesy of Mrs. Philip B. Kunhardt (Dorothy Meserve) of Morristown, N. J.

# LINCOLN AND HIRAM BARNEY

BY JAMES N. ADAMS

## I

ABRAHAM LINCOLN arrived in New York on Saturday, February 25, 1860, to deliver his Cooper Institute speech the following Monday evening. It can safely be assumed that among the "admirers" who "crowded out" Lincoln's Springfield friend Mason Brayman<sup>1</sup> were most of the officers and directors of the sponsoring organization, the Young Men's Republican Union of New York. One of these directors, Hiram Barney, listened to Lincoln's speech and wrote him enthusiastically on February 28:

MR LINCOLN—MY DEAR SIR, This letter<sup>2</sup> comes to me this morning, from the office of the *Evening Post*. The *Tribune* has a good report of the words of your speech, What a pity that it cannot give the manner of it!<sup>3</sup> It was a rare treat last night that the republicans of New York enjoyed My son,<sup>4</sup> who is a graduate of Harvard University & a student of the law school there, said this morning—"It was the best speech I ever heard" I am truly yours

HIRAM BARNEY.

<sup>1</sup> Brayman to William H. Bailhache, "Lincoln Before a New York Audience," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XLIX (Summer, 1956), 213.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Wallace to Lincoln, Reading, Feb. 25, 1860, The Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress (microfilm copy, Illinois State Historical Library; hereafter cited as RTI). Barney's note is written on the back of Wallace's envelope, and hence is filed under Feb. 25 instead of Feb. 28.

<sup>3</sup> For "the words of [Lincoln's] speech" see *New York Tribune*, Feb. 28, 1860; Roy P. Basler, Marion Dolores Pratt, Lloyd A. Dunlap, eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J., 9 vols., 1953; hereafter cited as *CW*), III: 522-50 (with annotations by Charles C. Nott and Cephas Brainerd). For descriptions of "the manner of it" see Brayman to Bailhache, New York, Feb. 28, 1860, Bailhache-Brayman Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib., printed in "Lincoln Before a New York Audience," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLIX (Summer, 1956), 214-15; *N. Y. Tribune*, Feb. 28, 1860.

<sup>4</sup> William Barney (1840-1919), Harvard graduate with the class of 1859. He attended Harvard Law School 1859-1861, then spent a year studying in Paris, where he was "singled out by [Thurlow] Weed for a display of kindness in the winter of

Lincoln received this note some time during his eleven-city speaking tour of New England.<sup>5</sup> He returned to New York by the Night Express on Saturday, March 10, and his entertainment the next day was taken care of by Barney and James A. Briggs. The latter, who had originally made the arrangements for Lincoln's speech,<sup>6</sup> wrote Governor Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, a prominent challenger for the presidential nomination, that the contest was between him and Senator William H. Seward of New York, and added:

Mr. Lincoln, of Ill. told me he had a very warm side towards you, for of all the prominent Reps. you were the only one who gave him "aid & comfort"<sup>7</sup> . . . I was pleased with him, & paid him all the attention I could. Went with him to hear Mr. Beecher & Dr. Chapin.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Barney went with him to the "House of Industry" at the five Points,<sup>9</sup> and then took him home

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[1861-]1862" (Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed: Wizard of the Lobby* [Boston, 1947], 305). Returning to America, William Barney served as first lieutenant in the 7th New York Cavalry from Aug. 13, 1862 until he was discharged for disability on May 17, 1863.

<sup>5</sup> Paul M. Angle, *Lincoln 1854-1861; Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1, 1854 to March 4, 1861* (Springfield, 1933), 322-24; *CW*, III: 550-54, IV: 2-30; "Mr. Lincoln in New Hampshire," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLVIII (Autumn, 1955), 327-28.

<sup>6</sup> Lincoln to Briggs, Danville, Nov. 13, 1859, Exeter, March 4, 1860, *CW*, III: 494, 554.

<sup>7</sup> See Lincoln to Chase, April 30, 1859, Lincoln to Samuel Galloway, July 28, 1859, March 24, 1860, *ibid.*, III: 378, 394-95, IV: 33-34.

<sup>8</sup> The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, and Dr. Edwin Hubbell Chapin, pastor of the Church of the Divine Unity, New York City, both noted pulpit orators.

<sup>9</sup> The Five Points House of Industry, a seven-story brick building at 155 Worth Street, was devoted to "the preservation of children from suffering and crime" in that slum district. There were about 250 children, "equally proportioned in sexes . . . enjoying the benefits of the house." F. Lauriston Bullard, "When Lincoln Was Taken for 'A Western Clergyman,'" *Lincoln Herald*, XLVI (Dec., 1944), 23-25; Matthew Hale Smith, *Sunshine and Shadow in New York* (Hartford, 1869), 202-13 (Chap. XXI); William F. Barnard, *Forty Years at Five Points* (New York, 1893), Appendix; *N. Y. Tribune*, Aug. 26, 1848, Feb. 6, 1860, Oct. 10, 1864. Barney's partner William A. Butler describes the scene as Barney told it to him the next day: "Mr. Lincoln . . . was introduced to the Superintendent by Mr. Barney, and was requested to say a few words to the children. He said he was unaccustomed to that kind of address, but consented to speak to the boys and girls, which he did, giving them a few words of sound advice." William [Howard] Allen Butler, *A Retrospect of Forty Years, 1825-1865* (New York, 1911), 333. Another version, which has Lincoln coming alone, is in *N. Y. Tribune*, May 30, 1860; and still another, giving his companion as "Mr. Washburne," in Francis Fisher Browne, *The Every-Day Life of Abraham Lincoln: A Narrative and Descriptive Biography with Pen-Pictures and Personal Recollections by Those Who Knew Him* (New York, 1913), 225-26. Samuel B. Halliday, general agent of the House of Industry, in the *Monthly Record of the Five Points House of Industry* for May, 1865, tells practically the same story as Butler. Halliday gave Lincoln, whom he first took to be "a western clergyman,"

to tea. He was very much pleased with Mr. Barney. What a strong, steady, working, glorious friend you have in Hiram Barney! It is really worth living to have one such friend, so true a man. . . .<sup>10</sup>

Mrs. Barney's sister Julia Tappan described Lincoln at tea in the Barney home on Union Square in a letter to her nephew:

Your Father has been absent a fortnight tomorrow. The evening before he left (Sunday) Abraham Lincoln came to tea. Would he not be known for an American in any part of the world? He is six feet four inches in height, and impresses one with awkwardness of manner, homeliness of feature, and not over clean hands—for a few minutes—at least when first met at table in the home of a gentleman so uncommonly his opposite in these respects as your Father. Your Mother was not at table that evening, and as I was hostess therefore, and had Mr. Lincoln at my right hand, I had a good opportunity to receive all the impressions, good & bad, which such a man would be likely to make. You will not be surprised from your own knowledge of him, that I shortly forgot the disagreeable in admiration of his intelligence and heartiness and wit. He tells an excellent story and has, (what I like very much in any one) a genuine laugh which is yet seldom enough to be more enlivening. I could not help telling him, as he took leave, that I was very glad to have had the opportunity to see him.<sup>11</sup>

Barney recommended Lincoln & Herndon to take over a lawsuit for Clinton L. Merriam of New York, who was dissatisfied with the progress of his suit against Reuben W. Burt of Atlanta, Illinois.<sup>12</sup> In May Barney went to the national Republican convention in Chicago, though not as a delegate, and described his reactions to the result in a letter on Tremont House stationery to his son:

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a copy of his *The Lost and Found; or, Life Among the Poor* (1859). See Bullard's article, *supra*, and Mrs. Lincoln to Halliday, Dec. 31, 1860, in Harry E. Pratt, "Mrs. Lincoln Writes to Author Halliday," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLV (Autumn, 1952), 261-62. On Oct. 16, 1863, Supt. B. R. Barlow sent Barney, for transmission to Lincoln, the "address" of 118 boys of the House of Industry. Barney sent the address on to Lincoln on Dec. 10. Five Points House of Industry to Lincoln, Oct. 16, 1863, Barlow to Barney, Oct. 16, 1863, Barney to Lincoln, Dec. 10, 1863, RTL.

<sup>10</sup> Briggs to Chase, New York, March 17, 1860, in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1902, II: 481-83.

<sup>11</sup> Julia Aspinwall Tappan to William Barney, New York, March 25, 1860, William Barney Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

<sup>12</sup> Barney to Lincoln, New York, April 13, 1860, enclosed in Merriam to Lincoln & Herndon, New York, April 13, 1860, RTL.

CHICAGO, MAY 18 1860

MY DEAR SON,

The convention has just nominated Lincoln for President. My preference as you know was for Chase but I am entirely satisfied with the choice of Lincoln. He is the friend of Chase and if elected will give us a wise administration and he will be elected. I came here to tell the delegates what Seward's friends have done in the State of New York and to defeat his nomination, because I believed it my duty to do it. It has been done and I rejoice in the result. The republican party has thus purged itself of all complicity in the crimes that have been committed in its name by the friends of Seward and it deserves success for under Lincoln it will use it honestly and wisely. Lewie<sup>13</sup> is with me and I think we shall go to Springfield where Lincoln lives, to pay him our respects.<sup>14</sup> I shall then go to Iowa<sup>15</sup> and go home before the 10th June. I am your affectionate

FATHER<sup>16</sup>

Soon after the nomination Lincoln made it clear that he was indeed "very much pleased with Mr. Barney." When Thurlow Weed, New York Republican "boss" of the Seward faction, visited Lincoln on May 24-25, the nominee told him:

"I have not . . . promised an office to any man, nor have I, but in a single instance, mentally committed myself to an appointment; and as that relates to an important office in your State, I have concluded to mention it to you,—under strict injunctions of secrecy, however. If I am not induced by public considerations to change my purpose, Hiram Barney will be collector of the port of New York." . . . I remarked [said Weed] that until I met him at the Chicago convention my acquaintance with Mr. Barney was very slight; but that after the convention adjourned Mr. Barney joined us (my daughter and a lady friend) in an excursion down the Mississippi

<sup>13</sup> Probably Lewis Tappan, Jr., Barney's brother-in-law; though it may have been Lewis Tappan, Sr., his father-in-law.

<sup>14</sup> It seems unlikely that Barney actually visited Springfield at this time, since in his letter to Lincoln of Nov. 9 (RTL) he says [italics added]: "*I sent you from Chicago* in May last my congratulations upon your nomination."

<sup>15</sup> Barney was interested in Iowa property through much of his life. He was absent "in the West" when he was nominated for Congress in 1840. Orville H. Browning, en route from Quincy to court at Oquawka in 1854, recorded in his diary: "Sunday Apl 16 This morning found myself at Keokuk. Went to Laclede House to breakfast. Met Mr Barney of N Y & Judge [Charles] Mason." Almost twenty years later (Oct. 27, 1873) Barney called at Browning's Quincy office while on a tour of inspection of his Iowa lands. Theodore C. Pease and James G. Randall, eds., *Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* [Illinois Historical Collections, XX, XXII] (Springfield, 1927), I: 136, II: 362; N. Y. *Tribune*, May 20, 1895. It may well have been on some of these trips that Barney became acquainted with the girl who became his second wife (see p. 351).

<sup>16</sup> Hiram Barney to William Barney, Chicago, May 18, 1860, Barney Papers.

and through Iowa, and that my impressions of him personally and politically were favorable, and that I believed he would make an acceptable collector. . . . "He has not," said Mr. Lincoln, "asked for this or any other office, nor does he know of my intention."<sup>17</sup>

During the campaign Barney raised \$35,000 for the Republican cause. He was also active in printing and circulating campaign literature, and served as chairman of the New York judiciary convention.<sup>18</sup> Such services would have entitled him to expect a lucrative appointment under the new administration, even had he personally been an entire stranger to the President-elect, and Barney lost no time in congratulating Lincoln on his election: "No event which has transpired since the adoption of the Constitution, has given the good people of the United States so much real cause for rejoicing."<sup>19</sup>

In January, 1861, Barney, George Opdyke and John T. Hogeboom made a trip to Springfield (stopping off en route for a conference with Chase at Columbus) in the interest of Chase's inclusion in Lincoln's cabinet and Simon Cameron's exclusion from it. "We have conferred with Mr Lincoln & leading republicans here," wrote Barney to his son from Springfield on January 15. "We are to have an other interview with him at our room here by his appointment at 9. o'clock tomorrow morning."<sup>20</sup> Lincoln received them cordially, but would make no definite commitments.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Harriet A. Weed, ed., *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1883), 612-13.

<sup>18</sup> Barney and other leaders of his faction recommended and financially aided a campaign paper called *The New-York Republican*. *N. Y. Tribune*, March 15, 1860. See also *ibid.*, Oct. 6, 1860, May 20, 1895; David Donald, ed., *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet: The Civil War Diaries of Salmon P. Chase* (New York, 1954), 283; Hiram Rockwell Bennett, "Financing Mr. Lincoln's First Campaign," *Lincoln Herald*, I (Oct., 1948), 11-20; *Lincoln Lore*, No. 537 (July 24, 1939).

<sup>19</sup> Barney to Lincoln, New York, Nov. 9, 1860, RTL.

<sup>20</sup> Hiram Barney to William Barney, Springfield, Jan. 15, 1861, Barney Papers. The date of this letter, if correct, shows that they arrived the day before the entry in Angle, *Lincoln 1854-1861*, 368. For this visit of Barney's see also Burton J. Hendrick, *Lincoln's War Cabinet* (Boston, 1946), 104-5; Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York, 1943), 35-37; *N. Y. Tribune*, May 20, 1895.

<sup>21</sup> "Barney and his friends . . . go home not wholly satisfied," wrote Charles H. Ray of the *Chicago Tribune*. Norman B. Judd, however, thought that "Barney and friends have . . . gone substantially satisfied." Ray to Trumbull, Springfield, Jan. 16, 1861, Judd to Trumbull, Springfield, Jan. 17, 1861, Lyman Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress (microfilm copy, Ill. State Hist. Lib.).

Although Barney was chairman of the committee for the public celebration of Washington's birthday in New York,<sup>22</sup> he was in Washington, still trying to influence the cabinet selections, when Lincoln arrived there from his secret trip through Baltimore on the morning of February 23.<sup>23</sup> The promotion of his own prospects was doubtless also on his mind. It is not known when he found out Lincoln's intention of giving him the collectorship, but Lincoln sent his name to the Senate and he was confirmed on March 27.<sup>24</sup> Though the appointment was made on Lincoln's own responsibility,<sup>25</sup> it was eminently satisfactory to Chase, now Secretary of the Treasury and therefore Barney's official superior, who had been a business correspondent of Barney's since 1842 and personally and politically intimate with him since the Free-Soil campaign of 1848.<sup>26</sup>

## II

What sort of man was about to take over the most lucrative position in the government? Hiram Barney was born in Henderson, Jefferson County, New York, on May 30, 1811,

<sup>22</sup> N. Y. Tribune, Feb. 21, 22, 1861.

<sup>23</sup> Carman and Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage*, 49; Barney to Lincoln, Washington, Feb. 27, 1861, arguing against the inclusion of Henry Winter Davis in the cabinet (RTL). The purported interview between Barney and the "Public Man" in New York on Feb. 20 is not authentic. Frank Maloy Anderson, *The Mystery of "A Public Man"* (Minneapolis, 1948), 21, 70, 72, 78, 125.

<sup>24</sup> *New York Herald*, Washington correspondence, March 5-28, 1861.

<sup>25</sup> Weed, ed., *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*, 612-13; Butler, *Retrospect*, 349-50; Albert Bushnell Hart, *Salmon Portland Chase (American Statesmen Series)* (Boston, c1899), 217; Robert Bruce Warden, *An Account of the Private Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase* (Cincinnati, 1874), 559; Jacob W. Schuckers, *The Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase, United States Senator and Governor of Ohio; Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief-Justice of the United States* (New York, 1874), 477, 492; Maunsell Bradhurst Field, *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women; Being Personal Recollections of Emperors, Kings, Queens, Princes, Presidents, Statesmen, Authors, and Artists, at Home and Abroad, During the Last Thirty Years* (New York, 1874), 304. Judge Warden was an intimate friend of Chase and his official biographer; Schuckers was Chase's confidential clerk in the Treasury Department; and Field, after serving as chief aide to Assistant Treasurer John J. Cisco in New York, was Third Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in Washington. It was Chase's insistence upon appointing Field to succeed Cisco when the latter resigned in 1864 that resulted in Chase's exit from the cabinet.

<sup>26</sup> Schuckers, *Chase*, 477, 495; Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (New York, 1939), II: 641-42. In 1856 Barney was New York manager for Chase's candidacy for the presidential nomination (Hart, *Chase*, 160). Barney loaned Chase \$10,000 to set up housekeeping in Washington in 1861, and was active in encouraging Kate Chase's marriage to William Sprague (Mary Merwin Phelps,

the seventh and youngest child of Dr. Daniel Barney. The family had been in America since 1634. Converted to the antislavery cause in his teens, during the 1830's Barney was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society of New York City. This attitude was intensified by his marriage to Susan Aspinwall Tappan, daughter of Lewis Tappan, prominent merchant, abolitionist and philanthropist. In 1840 Barney was nominated for Congress by the antislavery Democrats, but received only 350 votes. He supported James G. Birney, Liberty Party candidate for the presidency, in 1844, and in 1848 joined his father-in-law and the latter's brother Arthur in the "Barnburner" (Free Soil) faction of New York Democrats, being a candidate for presidential elector for the Van Buren-Charles Francis Adams ticket. He ran again for the same post four years later for John P. Hale and George W. Julian, also being (along with the Tappans) among the vice-presidents of the New York State "Independent Democratic" convention.

In 1854 Barney was active in the Anti-Nebraska, "Free Democratic" and state temperance conventions meeting simultaneously at Auburn, and was a leader of a seceding faction of the anti-Nebraska group, which was the first in the state to adopt the name "Republican." In 1856 he was one of the signers of a call for a public meeting to denounce Preston S. "Bully" Brooks' assault on Senator Charles Sumner; a delegate to the Philadelphia convention which nominated Frémont and Dayton; and a member of the Republican Central Committee, representing the Fifteenth Ward. The *New York Herald* on March 14, 1861, described him as

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*Kate Chase: Dominant Daughter. The Life Story of a Brilliant Woman and Her Famous Father* [New York, 1953], 105, 129-30; Warden, *Chase*, 557-58). Chase was Barney's guest in New York in August, September and November, 1861 (*N. Y. Tribune*, Aug. 14, Sept. 30, Nov. 16, 1861). The intimacy continued even after Chase had lost the Treasury and Barney the Collectorship; Barney entertained Chase at dinner in New York on Sept. 13, 1864, and in 1867 wrote Chase, then Chief Justice: "At least three hundred members of the bar have asked me for letters recommending them or their friends for register" in bankruptcy, whom the law made it the Chief Justice's duty to appoint (Donald, ed., *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet*, 253; Hart, *Chase*, 323).

an eminently respectable gentleman, personally most worthy to fill the office [of Collector]. . . . His abolitionism is black, fringed with red—quite philosophical, however, and not infringing upon the square proportions of a vigorous, intellectual and honorable mind. He will make an upright, and, outside of politics, a popular official, and if any brain is able to make sense out of the "confusion worse confounded" of the new [Morrill] tariff, his may be relied on.

His antislavery activities, however, were subordinated to his legal profession. After graduation from Union College, Schenectady, in 1834, he attended the Albany Law School and read law with Judge Waterman of New York City. Admitted to the bar in 1836, he commenced legal practice in the metropolis as a partner of William C. Mulligan. Four years later he began a partnership with William Mitchell, which continued until Mitchell's sudden death in 1848. The Tappan influence then led to a partnership with Benjamin F. Butler (1795-1858), former attorney general in Jackson's cabinet, who had just been dismissed by Polk as United States District Attorney for the Southern District of New York because he supported the Free-Soil candidacy of Van Buren, under whose presidency he had held the same office. Butler, however, soon withdrew from active connection with the firm; but his son William Allen Butler (1825-1902), who combined a career as a noted lawyer with the authorship of a number of poems, including Lincoln's favorite "Nothing to Wear," remained Barney's partner until the firm was dissolved on Barney's retirement in 1873. James Humphrey of Brooklyn joined the partnership on November 1, 1851, but withdrew upon his election to Congress in 1858, and George W. Parsons became the junior partner on January 1, 1859. Butler wrote:

[Barney] was essentially an office lawyer, and never went into court for the trial or argument of cases. . . . Mr. Barney, partly through the influence of the Tappans and largely by his own professional ability, particularly as a . . . negotiator in differences between business men, had a large clientage of the best character and had many active litigations in progress. . . . He was not a student of the law as it was contained in books . . .

but he was a good judge of the law. . . . He was very quick and clear in apprehending legal relations and rights, and most fertile in suggesting remedies.

Barney was also interested in various cultural and philanthropic projects. He was a trustee of the Five Points House of Industry; a member of the Advisory Committee for the New York Union Home School for soldiers' children, at Seventy-fifth Street and Eleventh Avenue; an incorporator of the American Geographical and Historical Society in 1854 and one of its five councilors in 1861-1862; and a corporator of the Pacific Railroad in 1860. After the Civil War he seems to have become increasingly disgusted with the course of the Radicals and to have favored the Liberal Republican movement in 1872. On August 26, 1880, after the death of his first wife, Barney married Harriet E. Kilbourne (1857-1921), daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George Kilbourne of Keokuk, Iowa, and, despite his advanced age, had two children by her. He died at his home in the Kingsbridge section of upper Manhattan, on the Spuyten Duyvil, on May 18, 1895. George C. Holt said of him:

Mr. Barney was a man of singularly attractive manners, who, in a long life, knew an unusual number of interesting and distinguished people. Few men whom I have ever met were more interesting and attractive in conversation, and it is a matter of regret that Mr. Barney never wrote out his reminiscences of his life. It would have made an unusually attractive book.<sup>27</sup>

### III

"Please come here," Lincoln telegraphed Barney two days after his confirmation. "I think I can make up the New-York

<sup>27</sup> Material for this biographical sketch is from *N. Y. Tribune*, Aug. 7, 1852, Aug. 19, Sept. 26-28, 1854, May 30, 1856, April 8, July 27, Nov. 9, 1861, May 10, 1862, May 20, 1895; William F. Adams, *Barney 1634-Hosmer 1635* (Springfield, Mass., 1912), 33-37, 60, 62, 65; Harry E. Pratt, "Lincoln Liked 'Nothing to Wear,'" *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, II (March, 1942), 5-9; Butler, *Retrospect*, 211-13, 393-94; William J. Hartman, "Politics and Patronage: The New York Custom House, 1852-1902" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, c1952), 88-90; William J. Hartman, "Custom House Patronage under Lincoln," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XLI (Oct., 1957), 440-57; Charles S. Bartles to Trumbull, New York, Sept. 1, 1864, Trumbull Papers; Susan Tappan Barney to William Barney,

card better after having a talk with you."<sup>28</sup> His friendly relations with Weed enabled Barney to take with him an agreement that New York Treasury appointments would be left entirely in Chase's hands.<sup>29</sup> The two presidential appointments in the Custom House besides the Collector were Surveyor and Naval Officer. For the former post "[Horace] Greel[e]y, Opdycke [George Opdyke], [David Dudley] Field & [James S.] Wadsworth, [were] in favor of having the two big puddings on the same side of the board," recommending Rufus F. Andrews (who was appointed Surveyor) as one who would "be in full accord and sympathy with the Collector already appointed."<sup>30</sup> Attorney George Denison was appointed Naval Officer by Lincoln at "the urgent solicitation of an old friend [Robert Irwin of Springfield] who has served me all my life, and who has never before received or asked any thing in return."<sup>31</sup> Henry B. Stanton, husband of the noted feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton and an associate of Barney's in Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society days, was appointed chief clerk—an appointment which was later to plague both President and Collector.<sup>32</sup>

New York, Sept. 1, 1860, Hiram Barney to William Barney, New York, March 9, 1860, Barney Papers; James Grant Wilson, ed., *The Memorial History of the City of New-York from Its First Settlement to the Year 1892* (New York, 1895), III: 443; William Roscoe Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay* (Boston, 1915), I: 345-46; Keokuk (Iowa) *Daily Gate City and Constitution Democrat*, Nov. 19, 1921; Doris A. Foley to author, Keokuk, May 22, 1957. There is much material on the activities of Lewis and Arthur Tappan in Benjamin P. Thomas, *Theodore Weld: Crusader for Freedom* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1950), *passim* (see Index).

<sup>28</sup> Lincoln to Barney, Washington, March 29, 1861, CW, IV: 300. Barney made several other trips to Washington before the end of the year. "He was often at Washington in close consultation with the President," said Butler. *N. Y. Tribune*, May 31, June 7, 21, Oct. 15, 1861; Butler, *Retrospect*, 349. A good idea of the numerous ferriages and changes of cars necessary on these trips may be found in Thomas Weber, *The Northern Railroads in the Civil War 1861-1865* (New York, 1952), 107-26 (Chap. VIII).

<sup>29</sup> Sandburg, *War Years*, I: 179. The *quid pro quo*, of course, was to be non-interference by Chase in other New York appointments.

<sup>30</sup> CW, IV: 325 and note.

<sup>31</sup> See Lincoln's receipt for notes left with Irwin for collection, Feb. 9, 1861, Lincoln to Irwin, March 20, 1861, Lincoln to Chase, May 16, 18, 1861, *ibid.*, IV: 188-89, 296, 371, 373-74; Harry E. Pratt, ed., "The Lincolns Go Shopping," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLVIII (Spring, 1955), 65-86.

<sup>32</sup> Stanton, a former associate of Chase in the Free-Soil Party and prominent abolitionist speaker, had of late gone over to the Seward-Weed faction. *N. Y. Tribune*, May 20, 1895; Thomas, *Theodore Weld*, *passim*; Hart, *Chase*, 44, 95, 98, 185; Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed*, 204; Donald Barr Chidsey, *The Gentleman from*

Returning to New York on April 4, Barney gave his official bond for \$200,000<sup>33</sup> and was sworn in by United States Commissioner Richard E. Stilwell. He took over the actual administration of the Custom House from Augustus Schell on April 8.<sup>34</sup> The duties of supervising five-sixths of the foreign commerce of the United States<sup>35</sup> were quite a change from interviewing clients and writing briefs at 32-34-36 Trinity Building.

The outbreak of civil war added its load in the Custom House as elsewhere. Clearances were denied for the seceded states<sup>36</sup> and more stringent bonds required to guarantee that shipments to Nassau and other neutral ports would not be transshipped to the Confederacy.<sup>37</sup> The increasing effectiveness of the Union blockade soon put an end to the tempo-

*New York: A Life of Roscoe Conkling* (New Haven, 1935), 19-20. Stanton's *Random Recollections* (New York, 1887) do not mention his work in the Custom House.

<sup>33</sup> His sureties were Charles H. Marshall, Morris Ketchum, Opdyke and Wadsworth. *N. Y. Tribune*, April 6, 1861.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, April 6, 8, 1861; *N. Y. Herald*, April 6, 1861.

<sup>35</sup> T. B. Thorpe, "The New York Custom-House," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, XLIII (June, 1871), 11-26; R. Wheatley, "The New York Custom House," *ibid.*, LXIX (June, 1884), 38-61; *N. Y. Tribune*, Sept. 3, 12, 13, 21, Nov. 11, 15, 1861, April 8, May 6, Aug. 6, 1862, Feb. 11, 1864. The New York Collector also was required to make an "annual inspection of Custom-Houses as far east as Buzzard's Bay." *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1864. As collector he also conducted periodic auctions of goods unclaimed for three years or more, and sold cotton for the government (see pp. 359-60).

<sup>36</sup> Barney had anticipated Chase's order of April 19 to this effect. Later, as Southern ports came under Union control, special trade regulations went into effect, and Barney had to make out a list of employees to be sent to New Orleans to reopen the Custom House there. Clearances even for Pennsylvania were forbidden during Lee's campaign which ended at Gettysburg. *N. Y. Herald*, April 19, 21, 1861; *N. Y. Tribune*, March 31, May 5, 23, 1862, May 20, 21, July 2, 1863.

<sup>37</sup> For a time clearances were required "for even the shortest trips— . . . even to Staten Island." *Ibid.*, May 31, 1861. A patrol of three Coast Guard vessels—the *Vixen* at Throgg's Neck commanding the passage from East River to Long Island Sound, the *Corwin* at the Narrows, and the *Bibb* at the mouth of the Raritan River closing off the Kill van Kull between Staten Island and the New Jersey mainland—was arranged in co-operation with Commodore Samuel L. Breese of the Brooklyn Navy Yard to intercept all outgoing vessels, "inspecting their character, seeing if they have the proper clearances from the Custom-House, and that they are engaged in lawful commerce." A vessel which refused to stop for the cutters would be brought up by fire from Fort Schuyler or Fort Hamilton; no vessel was allowed to leave between sunset and sunrise. "Rumors of dangers to our commerce eastward" in 1864 "induced Collector Barney to order four armed revenue steamers to cruise in such waters as are likely to attract the visits of Rebel vessels." These patrols were continued to the end of the war. Other smuggling problems of less importance, unconnected with the Confederacy, also occurred from time to time. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1861, April 16, 18, 19, 1862, Sept. 8, 14, 1864; *N. Y. Herald*, April 23, May 13, 1861.

rarily troublesome problem of what to do with vessels seeking to enter the port with Confederate clearances.<sup>38</sup> The Morrill tariff, which had just gone into effect on April 1, multiplied the difficulties of employees and merchants alike.<sup>39</sup>

During this first hectic period there were also cases of attempted fraud on the Government, such as that of the steamer *Catiline*, purchased for \$18,000 by John E. Develin and Charles E. Stetson, proprietors of the Astor House; Secretary of War Cameron; and Alexander Cummings, former publisher of the *Philadelphia Bulletin* and the *New York World* (Thurlow Weed's name was also involved). Registered in Develin's name, the *Catiline* was immediately chartered to the Government at \$10,000 per month for three months, with the provision that if she should be (as she was) lost in the service, \$50,000 compensation should be paid. Her cargo—represented as necessary provisions for the troops before Washington—was actually Scotch ale and London porter bought from Erastus Corning & Company of Albany, and hard mouldy bread from a Boston firm. The arrangements were handled by Cummings' clerk James Humphrey, ex-Congressman and former partner of Barney, and it may have been through him that Barney learned of the corrupt practices involved. At any rate, he refused to permit the *Catiline* to sail. General John E. Wool, however, was induced to issue a pass allowing her to depart without Custom House clearance. Wool revoked the pass the next day, but by that time the *Catiline* had put to sea.<sup>40</sup>

The greatest problem, however, was patronage. Barney had 580 posts under his control in the Custom House itself, with an annual payroll of \$715,995.<sup>41</sup> There were 452 more in the local revenue cutter, lighthouse and marine hospital

<sup>38</sup> Under the act of Aug., 1861, such vessels were confiscated—91 by Feb. 7, 1862. *Ibid.*, April 27, 1861; *N. Y. Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1862.

<sup>39</sup> *N. Y. Herald*, April 1-12, 1861, *passim*. There were further increases in duties during the war.

<sup>40</sup> Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumbull* (Boston, 1913), 178-82; Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed*, 285; report of congressional investigating committee, including Barney's testimony, *N. Y. Tribune*, Dec. 18, 20, 1861.

<sup>41</sup> Detailed list in *ibid.*, April 9, 1861.

services, which—with the enforcement of the neutrality laws—were under his jurisdiction.<sup>42</sup> “Applications for office are pouring in at the rate of about a bushel a day,” said the *Tribune* on April 2. Barney set aside the hours of 3-5 P.M., after the close of the business day (10 A.M.-3 P.M.), to receive applications.<sup>43</sup> The *Herald* commented on April 12:

The Hon. Hiram Barney, the new Collector of this port, . . . is a man of character and integrity, free from the mire and filth of existing organizations, and sufficiently detached from association with corrupt politicians to enable him to control them all. . . . New York is so divided and subdivided into political cliques, that, by a fair and judicious selection of officers . . . he can organize . . . a united party. . . .

Mr. Barney will select, irrespective of past proclivities, subordinates who unite ability, industry, and official honesty, with zeal and influence to aid in consolidating the fabric he is desirous of creating.

Lincoln, himself harassed by office-seekers, recommended some to Barney—in fact, a large proportion of the extant Lincoln-Barney correspondence deals with that subject. In replying to the President’s first recommendation, Barney took occasion to outline his theory of patronage during wartime:

I had today the pleasure to receive your letter of the 9th inst. enclosing Mr. Greeley’s letter on behalf of Mr William Ward of this city. I understand you to desire Mr Ward’s application considered on its merits and I will so consider & dispose of it. . . .

Please inform Mrs. Lincoln that Mr. John O. Johnson has a pleasant situation in the Custom House.

I hope New York and the North have justified my prediction in regard to the unanimity and enthusiasm with which all parties & classes of the

<sup>42</sup> Hartman, “Politics and Patronage,” 16, 103, 352; U. S. Congress, House, *Commissions to Examine Custom Houses*, Exec. Doc. 8, XLV Cong., 1 Sess., 35. By contrast, the entire State Department, including all diplomatic establishments, had in 1863 only 411 employees.

<sup>43</sup> *N. Y. Herald*, April 9-12, 1861; *N. Y. Tribune*, April 5, 1861. Some changes were undoubtedly necessary. When the 27 employees discharged at the end of August went to collect their last pay, each was “required to take the oath of allegiance. Many of them declined. This shows that the men were not removed without cause.” *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1861; see also *ibid.*, Sept. 2, Nov. 12, 1861, Jan. 30, April 29, 1862. Barney resented and resisted any outside pressure on patronage. *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 12, 19, 1861, Jan. 16, 1862. The Custom House was required to work 365 days a year—unless ice prevented ship movements. Increased business compelled Barney to open the Custom House at 9 a.m. by the end of 1861, adding nearly 17 per cent to the working day.

people here have rallied to the support of your government in its determination to maintain its power and integrity.

In view of this unanimity and the necessity of encouraging it my policy of removing from office for cause and not for antecedent differences of opinion, though it disappoints the expectations of many good men is not complained of generally and I hope it will meet your approbation.<sup>44</sup>

It would be as impossible [he added on July 20] to satisfy the demand which sensible men think they have a right to make of the Collector of New York, as it would have been, (without a miracle) to feed the multitude at the sea of Gallilee. . . .

The patronage of this office is absurdly overstated and no one who wants an appointment is willing to take and be satisfied with any one of the small offices which make up the largest portion of the number at my disposal.<sup>45</sup>

One of Barney's thorny patronage problems was Hinton Rowan Helper, who believed that his book *The Impending Crisis in the South and How to Meet It* had been a principal factor in the Republican victory and therefore entitled him to a well-paid sinecure. Barney "passed the buck" to Lincoln in this letter:

Mr Helper . . . [said] that he did not ask an office as a favor but demanded it as a right. That he should insist upon a good office one that would be considered a marked recognition of his services and claims. . . . He did not say that he wished an appointment which would conspicuously endorse him and his writings before the community. But I inferred that from what he did say. . . . To have "a small place which would attract no notice" is just what he does not want and what he would refuse. . . . Be so kind as to write me again and I will act as you think I ought.<sup>46</sup>

Patronage had another aspect, too: the wielding of the Custom House influence as a bloc in favor of one candidate

<sup>44</sup> Barney to Lincoln, New York, May 11, 1861, RTL. Lincoln's letter of May 9 has not been found, but a letter about Ward written May 13 is in CW, IV: 367. Ward received no appointment.

<sup>45</sup> Barney to Lincoln, New York, July 20, 1861, RTL. See also Chase to Barney, July 20, 1861, Schuckers, *Chase*, 275.

<sup>46</sup> Barney to Lincoln, New York, July 25, 1861, RTL. Helper was finally appointed consul to Buenos Aires. No Lincoln letter on Helper has been located, but other letters from Lincoln to Barney about patronage—two of which resulted in appointments—are in CW, V: 93, 157, VI: 361, VII: 332-33. Two recommendations by Lincoln for appraiser, mentioned by Barney on Sept. 20, have also apparently been lost.

or another. Greeley considered the Collector able to control the New York delegation to the national convention.<sup>47</sup> Custom House patronage seems to have been decisive in electing Opdyke mayor of New York City in 1861 in one of the closest elections in the city's history.<sup>48</sup> It was also influential in nominating Wadsworth for governor in 1862, and there is evidence that the Seward-Weed faction's resentment of it led to his defeat by Horatio Seymour, who proved such a thorn in Lincoln's side.<sup>49</sup> Chase found it necessary to caution Barney about overstepping the bounds:

It is stated to me that Mr. [Frederick A.] Conkling, the regular Republican nominee [for re-election to Congress], is in danger of defeat through the running of another Republican, supported by custom-house employes' influences. Mr. Conkling has not been as cordial to me as I think he should have been, but one of the first duties of a member of an organization, is to support its regular nominees unless morally unworthy; and Mr. Conkling is not only not so, but is distinguished for integrity and ability. . . . Speak to anybody concerned with whom you have influence, and beg them not to allow our candidate to be defeated by our friends.<sup>50</sup>

Regardless of agreements or understandings, it was not in Thurlow Weed's nature to sit quietly and allow the whole stream of Custom House patronage to flow to his political rivals. Twenty-three-year-old Albert N. Palmer, a Weed protégé, was on September 9, 1861, quietly maneuvered into the post of Barney's private secretary, where he exerted a powerful influence on appointments.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Hendrick, *Lincoln's War Cabinet*, 407.

<sup>48</sup> Hartman, "Politics and Patronage," 92-93; *N. Y. Tribune*, Nov. 16, 20, Dec. 4, 1861; Barney's and Opdyke's testimony in *Opdyke v. Weed*, *ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1864, Jan. 5, 1865; U. S. Congress, House, *Committee on Public Expenditures*, Report 111, XXXVIII Cong., 1 Sess., 157; Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed*, 315.

<sup>49</sup> Hartman, "Politics and Patronage," 96; Warden, *Chase*, 484.

<sup>50</sup> Chase to Barney, Washington, Oct. 29, 1862, *ibid.*, 506n. Conkling (1816-1891), elder brother of the more famous Roscoe, was congressman from Barney's own district (the sixth), and Barney had been one of the vice-presidents at a mass meeting to ratify his nomination. *N. Y. Tribune*, Oct. 31, 1860. Conkling had reciprocated by favoring Barney for the collectorship (*CW*, IV: 307; the note on this page is in error in attributing this list to Roscoe Conkling). Frederick Conkling was defeated in the 1862 election.

<sup>51</sup> *N. Y. Tribune*, Sept. 10, Dec. 2, 1861; J. F. Bailey to Chase, Jan. 13, 1864, Chase Papers, Lib. of Cong., quoted in Carman and Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage*, 245; Palmer's testimony before the congressional committee, U. S. Congress, House,

## IV

Barney's financial position did not suffer when he took over the Collectorship, the most remunerative office in the federal government—not excluding the presidency. His stated salary was \$6,340 per year.<sup>52</sup> This, however, was a comparatively minor item in his income from the post. He received five per cent of the harbor master's fees, three per cent of the health officer's fees, and two and one-half per cent of the Seaman's Retreat hospital fees, all of which had to be paid by every vessel entering the port. The Collector's share of these fees averaged \$300 per month. Still more profitable were the fines, penalties and forfeitures on smuggled or undervalued goods. One-half the penalty went to the informant, if any, otherwise to the government; the other half was divided among the Collector, the Naval Officer and the Surveyor. Barney testified before the House investigating committee in March, 1864, that he had received \$49,976 from this source alone.<sup>53</sup>

In addition, Barney found already in force a labor contract made in September, 1859, by Collector Schell and Secretary of the Treasury Howell Cobb, to last three years.<sup>54</sup> On May 11, 1861, Barney assigned the unexpired portion of this contract to his own law firm—Barney, Butler & Parsons—for

*Committee on Public Expenditures*, Report 111, XXXVIII Cong., 1 Sess., 137-38, 144-47, 150, 156-57, 247-48; Hartman, "Politics and Patronage," 93-95.

<sup>52</sup> At this time members of both houses of Congress received \$3,000 per annum; major generals, the highest rank in the Army, \$5,340 plus forage for five horses; the Vice-President and associate justices of the Supreme Court, \$6,000; the Chief Justice, \$6,500; most ministers to foreign countries, \$7,500; cabinet members, \$8,000; and the President, \$25,000. Joseph West Moore, *The American Congress: A History of National Legislation and Political Events 1774-1895* (New York, 1895), 447-48; W. A. Swanberg, *Sickles the Incredible* (New York, 1956), 163; *The Tribune Almanac for 1862* (New York, 1861), 16.

<sup>53</sup> Hartman, "Politics and Patronage," 19-20, 108; U. S. Congress, House, *Committee on Public Expenditures*, Report 111, XXXVIII Cong., 1 Sess., 23.

<sup>54</sup> This contract was for hauling samples from the ships and docks to the appraisers' stores for examination, unpacking and repacking them, and returning them to their owners. Schell had set the example by letting the original contract to Mather, Craig, McIntyre & Bixby, whose senior partner was a close business associate of himself, his brother Richard, Congressman John Cochrane, and Secretary of War John B. Floyd. Hartman, "Politics and Patronage," 103-4; Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), 258; Donald, ed., *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet*, 297.

\$21,000. Complaints began to come in to Washington about abuses and excessive charges, and Chase recorded in his diary on September 6, 1862:

Mr. Barney came this morning about the labor contract in New-York, about which quite a difference of opinion and interest exists—one or two of our most influential journals being concerned in its continuance. The question was, whether the Contract, by its own terms, was not limited to three years, and whether an extension of it beyond that time would be, in reality, a new Contract. Doubting on the point, I referred it to the Attorney-General [Edward Bates], who returned an answer expressing a decided opinion that the Contract was so limited and could not be extended without a new Contract.<sup>55</sup>

After a "long talk about labor contract" the next day Chase thought that the "dissatisfaction of our friends with Mr. Barney . . . was unreasonable."<sup>56</sup> The contract nevertheless was allowed to expire without renewal, and the Government was saved—by Barney's estimate—\$37,000 per year.<sup>57</sup>

"General order goods"—goods unclaimed, or on which the duty was not paid within the three days allowed a vessel to unload—were put into warehouses until all formalities were completed, and the warehousing cost was added to the owner's bill. Barney assigned this business along the East River to his son-in-law Henry C. Bowen and his partner Lambert of the *Independent*; and the even more profitable general order business along the North (Hudson) River was assigned to Barney's former law partner, ex-Congressman Humphrey.<sup>58</sup>

Even this did not end the Collector's profits. He sold cotton under the direction of the Government, and told a Congressional committee that he planned to charge a commission for his services:

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 122; see also 123-25.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 297; U. S. Congress, House, *Report of Select Committee*, Report 49, XXXVII Cong., 3 Sess., 3, 49.

<sup>58</sup> Hartman, "Politics and Patronage," 111; U. S. Congress, House, *Committee on Public Expenditures*, Report 30, XXXIX Cong., 2 Sess., 3; *New York World*, Sept. 24, 1864 ff.; *N. Y. Tribune*. Oct. 3, 1864.

I have assumed a very great responsibility in the matter, and have been threatened with suits, and also . . . the commissions, if charged, would be for the management of property not belonging to the United States. The cotton was received, stored, and a large portion of it ginned, prepared for the market, and sold upon my personal responsibility, and the greater part of the proceeds were expended for the purchase and shipment to South Carolina of clothing and provisions for the destitute colored people there.<sup>59</sup>

## V

Barney had frequent contacts with Lincoln in matters unrelated to the Custom House. Historian George Bancroft wrote his wife on December 12, 1861: "At 9¼ I made my way to the President's Mansion, where Barney was in waiting to introduce me. . . . Barney left to go up stairs, so I was left to a tête-à-tête with Madame."<sup>60</sup> Four days later Barney talked with the President, and later the same day wrote him the following letter, which seems to indicate an understanding that, in case of the death of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, Chase was to receive the judicial vacancy, with Barney to succeed to the Treasury portfolio:

*Private & confidential*

WILLARD'S HOTEL DEC. 16, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,

. . . It is the *chief* office only that our friend desires. That is not vacant & it is uncertain when it will be. There is a vacancy in the Northwestern circuit which ought to be filled as soon as it can be properly. . . . It is possible that it might be embarrassing to take a *chief* from the same state which already has a judge on the same bench. Inasmuch as Ohio has hitherto furnished the judge it would not be unfair to fill the present vacancy from Indiana, Illinois or Michigan. If this were done it would avoid any embarrassment in the selection of our friend for the vacancy which may hereafter occur in the office of Chief Justice. And it may well be hoped that when

<sup>59</sup> U. S. Congress, House, *Committee on Public Expenditures*, Report 111, XXXVIII Cong., 1 Sess., 23; Hartman, "Politics and Patronage," 108-9; *N. Y. Tribune*, Jan. 13, May 7, July 10, 1862, March 9, 10, 11, April 17, 1863. In view of all these sources of income it seems inexplicable that Barney's name does not appear among the 22 columns of fine print listing New Yorkers who reported a taxable income of \$5,000 or more to the Collectors of Internal Revenue (*ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1865).

<sup>60</sup> George Bancroft to Elizabeth D. Bancroft, Washington, Dec. 12, 1861, in M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft* (New York, 1908), II: 143-44.

that event shall occur the place now held by our friend may be surrendered by him to a successor whom you could select who would find the duties less arduous & less difficult to perform than they now are—and whose presence in your councils might be as useful as have been the services of the present incumbent. Excuse the trouble I give you and believe me always your friend

HIRAM BARNEY<sup>61</sup>

Barney, like Lincoln, was interested in improvements in weapons, and wrote General James W. Ripley, Chief of Ordnance, inviting Ripley's attention to William Page, "the distinguished artist & author, who has made an invention in fire arms which he wishes to place at the disposal of the Government."<sup>62</sup> Part of this interest may have been due to his connection with the "Hiram Barney Rifles," mustered into service as the 54th New York State Volunteers.<sup>63</sup>

Barney made a number of trips to Washington to confer with Lincoln and Chase. On January 22, 1862 he was accompanied by John J. Cisco and Surveyor Andrews.<sup>64</sup> On

<sup>61</sup> Barney to Lincoln, Washington, Dec. 16, 1861, RTL.

<sup>62</sup> Robert V. Bruce, *Lincoln and the Tools of War* (Indianapolis, 1956), 74.

<sup>63</sup> When the Barney Rifles encamped on the west side of the Hudson preparatory to being mustered into Federal service, Barney presented the national colors and Butler the regimental flag, each with a short speech. *N. Y. Tribune*, Sept. 25, Oct. 19, 30, 1861. The regiment served first in Blenker's division, Army of the Potomac, then under Frémont in the Shenandoah Valley. After participation in the Second Bull Run campaign the 54th became part of O. O. Howard's XI Corps in the Army of the Potomac, and as such bore the brunt of Stonewall Jackson's flank attack at Chancellorsville and of the first day's fighting at Gettysburg, before the main Union Army arrived. Some idea of its casualties may be gathered from the fact that it entered Chancellorsville under command of Lt. Col. Charles Ashby and came out under Maj. Stephen Kovacs; he was captured at Gettysburg and the ranking officer on July 4, 1863 was Lt. Ernest Both. Capt. Clemens Knipschild commanded the regiment in its operations in the department of the South, near Charleston, S. C., where it was from August, 1863 until it was mustered out in that city April 14, 1866. Col. Leopold von Gilsa, commanding the brigade including the 54th, reported that when Jackson attacked at Chancellorsville "My brigade stood bravely, fired three times, and stood still until after they had outflanked me on my right. The enemy attacked now from the front and rear, and then of course my brave boys were obliged to fall back, the 54th New York and the right wing of the 153d Pennsylvania forcing their way back through the enemy's skirmishers in their rear." Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884), III: 198n, 236, 436, IV: 75; letter from Adjutant General's office, Albany, N. Y., to author, June 10, 1957.

<sup>64</sup> Cisco, appointed Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New York near the beginning of the Pierce administration, had rendered such outstanding service that he was retained by both Buchanan and Lincoln. Directly and through Chase, Cisco probably had more influence on Civil War finance than any other one man. His subordinates, most of whom were Democrats, shared his long tenure. It was because Maunsell B. Field was unwilling to carry out a general proscription in the

his visit to the capital in September of the same year, after discussing the labor contract with Chase, he called at the Navy Department and found Lincoln and Secretary Gideon Welles discussing the reasons for General John Pope's defeat at Second Bull Run. Welles noted in his diary:

Barney . . . was positive that no one but [General George B.] McClellan could do anything just now with this army. He had managed to get its confidence, and he meant to keep it, and use it for his own purposes. . . . McClellan had . . . no political views or aspirations . . . and he had no particular desire to close this war immediately, but would pursue a line of policy of his own, regardless of the Administration, its wishes and objects.

The combination against Pope was, Barney says, part of the plan carried out, and the worst feature to him was the great demoralization of his soldiers. They were becoming reckless and untamable. In these remarks the President concurred. . . .

Barney further remarked that some very reliable men were becoming discouraged, and instanced Cassius M. Clay, who was advocating an armistice and terms of separation or of compromise with the Rebels.<sup>65</sup>

When Lincoln and Barney left the Navy Department they discussed the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which the President had drafted and was to issue later the same month, after Antietam:

You were right [wrote Barney to Welles fifteen years later] in thinking that my interview with Mr. Lincoln after we left you was on the subject of the proclamation which was drafted in his own handwriting and in his pocket when we were together. When we reached what he thought was a place secure against interruption he read and showed it to me, and then, at my request, read it a second time for my suggestions. I made one which he adopted and advised him about the time and circumstances in which it should be issued. But we were interrupted three times by Mr. Seward, who came through closed doors and two empty rooms to find us and tried to hush up our conference, though he could have had no more than a suspicion, if

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office that the New York politicians were so vehemently opposed to his replacing Cisco when ill health forced the latter to resign in 1864. Although a Democrat, Cisco was a staunch Unionist, and almost half the dismissals during his long tenure were on suspicion of disloyalty. Donald, ed., *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet*, 65.

<sup>65</sup> *Diary of Gideon Welles* (Boston, 1911), I: 116-17. Cassius M. Clay, outspoken opponent of slavery in Kentucky, had resigned as minister to Russia to return and become a general in the Union army.

he had that, of the subject of our conversation. Mr. Lincoln requested me not to talk about it, "for," said he, "no human being has seen this or knows anything about it." I think he wanted a witness to the fact that it was all his own work. [Francis B.] Carpenter's picture groups the figures so that it would appear that Seward has just finished his draft and Mr. Lincoln was reading it for the first time. But the fact is Seward was not very well pleased with the measure.<sup>66</sup>

A side bet between Lincoln and Seward seems to be implied in Barney's note to the President on September 10, when he was back at his desk in the Custom House: "You have won the quart of hazlenuts from the Secretary of State. The Nashville is not destroyed—but is actively at work. The rebels have a queer way of misleading by the information which they publish from time to time."<sup>67</sup>

Barney was surprisingly moderate, so far as extant communications show, in his recommendations of persons for jobs in other departments. He joined Henry D. Bacon in recommending Lewis B. Parsons for a colonelcy, and Elisha Whittlesey in recommending "Mr. Lewis" for a position.<sup>68</sup> On his own initiative he recommended John Jay for minister to Spain, and Francis G. Young for a diplomatic or consular post.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Barney to Welles, New York, Sept. 27, 1877, Welles Papers, New York Public Library, quoted in Hendrick, *Lincoln's War Cabinet*, 364-65. Another letter of Barney to Welles, Dec. 4, 1873, *ibid.*, 364, is of similar tenor. Butler's account of this incident, presumably as Barney told it to him on his return to New York, lacks Barney's lifelong animus against Seward. "Mr. Seward appeared and reminded the President that he was under an engagement to attend the funeral of an officer of the army and that it was time to go. Mr. Lincoln . . . declined to go and the Secretary was obliged to leave him alone with Mr. Barney." Butler, *Retrospect*, 352-53. By the time Barney wrote this letter his recollection of Lincoln's words had evidently become inexact, since the President had discussed the proclamation with his cabinet on July 22—some six weeks previous to his conversation with Barney.

<sup>67</sup> Barney to Lincoln, New York, Sept. 10, 1862, RTL. The *Nashville* was a Confederate raider about which conflicting rumors were in circulation.

<sup>68</sup> CW, IV: 384, 526n. See also Harry E. Pratt, "Lewis B. Parsons: Mover of Armies and Railroad Builder," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLIV (Winter, 1951), 349-54.

<sup>69</sup> Barney to Charles Sumner, March 31, 1862, Barney to Lincoln, July 22, 1863, RTL. Other letters from Barney to Lincoln (*ibid.*) transmit a dispatch from Minister Charles Francis Adams, received by Associated Press wire from Halifax; forward a report of the New York meeting of the United States Christian Commission; ask the President to sit for portrait painter Charles Loring Elliott; and request consideration of the Fox-Wisconsin River route as an alternative to the Illinois and Michigan Canal-Illinois River route for communication between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi. In this last Barney failed to mention that he, along with Erastus Corning and Horatio Seymour, was a heavy investor in the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement

Barney was unsuccessful in attempting to gain admission to the Union League Club on April 20, 1863. He was rejected for "political partisanship," said George Templeton Strong in his diary, "though I could have given additional reasons for not passing him as fit to associate with high-toned and honorable men."<sup>70</sup>

Strong also gives a vivid pen picture of Barney during the New York draft riots:

*July 15 [1863], Wednesday.* . . . Lots of talk and rumors about attacks on the New York Custom-house (*ci-devant* Merchants' Exchange) and the Treasury (late Custom-house).<sup>71</sup> Went to see Cisco and found his establishment in military occupation—sentinels pacing, windows barricaded, and so on. He was as serene and bland as the loveliest May morning ("so cool, so calm, so bright") and showed me the live shell ready to throw out of the window, and the "battery" to project Assay Office oil-of-vitriol and the like. He's all right. Then called on Collector Barney and had another long talk with him. Find him well prepared with shells, grenades, muskets, and men, but a little timid and anxious, "wanting counsel," doubtful about his right to fire on the mob, and generally flaccid and tremulous—poor devil!<sup>72</sup>

Twelve days later Barney still seemed "feeble and frightened" to Strong:

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Company, incorporated in 1853 (Stewart Mitchell, *Horatio Seymour of New York* [Cambridge, 1938], 196-97). Barney also gave New York merchant B. H. Hutton a note of introduction to Chase, which the Secretary endorsed to facilitate an interview with Lincoln (RTL).

<sup>70</sup> Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds., *The Diary of George Templeton Strong* (New York, 1952), III: 312.

<sup>71</sup> In 1862, in order to allow the Subtreasury to move into the old Custom House at Wall and Nassau streets, the Government leased for Custom House purposes the Merchants' Exchange Building on Wall, William and Hanover streets. The agreement was signed in late January, but it was not until Dec. 6 that the new building was occupied by "the Collector and his army of clerks." *N. Y. Tribune*, Feb. 1, 4, 8, March 21, May 1, Aug. 21, Sept. 6, Oct. 31, Dec. 6, 8, 1862. "Mr. BARNEY, the Collector, was very unwilling to be disturbed." Field, *Memories of Many Men*, 260. See also Hartman, "Politics and Patronage," 97-99; Thorpe, "New York Custom-House," 13-19.

<sup>72</sup> Nevins and Thomas, eds., *Diary of George Templeton Strong*, III: 339. The *Tribune*, however, says that "Collector Barney assumed the command himself, and distributed his force in such manner as to afford ample protection to the large public stores, warehouses, and the Custom House." This force included "a strong military guard from the 10th New-York volunteers . . . the sailors of several war-vessels [with] cannon loaded and ready. The gunboat {*Tulip*} in the stream [East River,] commanding a range of the whole [Wall] street . . . The Organ Battery of twenty-five guns . . . two howitzers in the command of a lieutenant and a number of marines." *N. Y. Tribune*, July 16, 17, 20, 1863.

Barney . . . thinks that Fernando Wood, nasty little Tucker the Surrogate, Butterworth, and McCunn, with others, are at the head of a secret organization that did not fully shew itself in the late riots, but is held in reserve for a far more serious outbreak in aid of the rebellion, and that Fernandy Wood aims at being Doge or First Consul or something of New York. Barney is feeble and frightened, but we should be prepared for any violent, desperate move by Copperheads and Peace Democrats to get control of the city.<sup>73</sup>

One reason for the mutual attraction between Lincoln and Barney may have been that the latter, like the former, enjoyed telling a good story. Strong repeats one:

*Dec. 15 [1863]. . . . Dined at Maison Dorée this afternoon with Ellie, Mr. Ruggles, [Norman B.] Judd, Dr. [Francis] Lieber, Barney the Collector, and Parke Godwin. Very pleasant session and many good stories. I record one of Barney's . . . illustrating our American appreciation of magnitude. A great six-foot Kentuckian . . . who has just returned from a visit to Europe, is asked by a friend, "How did you like it?" "Well, I liked it all pretty well except England. Didn't like England at all." "Why not?" "Why, I didn't dare to go out of the house nights for fear I should step off."*<sup>74</sup>

Lincoln, too, asked Barney's assistance in matters unrelated to the Custom House.

He wrote on August 16, 1862:

Mrs. L. has \$1000.00 for the benefit of the hospitals; and she will be obliged, and send the pay, if you will be so good as to select and send her two hundred dollars worth of good lemmons, and one hundred dollars worth of good oranges.<sup>75</sup>

The following spring he asked Barney, "by your acquaintance with the rich men," to "render . . . some assistance" to Joseph A. Wright, ex-governor of Indiana and United States commissioner to the World's Fair at Hamburg.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Nevins and Thomas, eds., *Diary of George Templeton Strong*, III: 345. The Copperheads referred to were Fernando Wood, former mayor who had led an abortive attempt to have New York City secede with the South; Gideon J. Tucker, surrogate and former Democratic secretary of state of New York; Samuel P. Butterworth; and John H. McCunn.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, III: 381. "Ellie" was Strong's wife, nee Ellen Caroline Ruggles; "Mr. Ruggles" was Samuel Bulkley Ruggles, her father.

<sup>75</sup> Lincoln to Barney, Aug. 16, 1862, *CW*, V: 377-78.

<sup>76</sup> Lincoln to Barney, May 9, 1863, *ibid.*, VI: 206.

## VI

In the autumn of 1863 Barney asked to be relieved of the Collectorship on account of seriously failing health. Also entering into his desire for retirement was the developing rivalry for the 1864 presidential nomination between his two friends and official superiors, Lincoln and Chase. At that time, however, neither the President nor the Secretary would let the Collector resign.<sup>77</sup> Barney made several trips to Washington that fall; on one of them he had the following conversation with Chase, as the latter recorded it in his diary:

*October 4, Sunday.* Mr. Barney called. Went to Church with me. Sermon on Christ in us—grand theme ill handled—much talk on coming home with Barney—is my friend certainly—but does not like to show preference if Mr L—— desires renomination.

*October 5, Monday.* Barney called at breakfast—seems not exactly to know his own mind—but will go for Mr. Lincoln if he desires re-election.<sup>78</sup>

Lincoln telegraphed Barney on November 11: "I would like an interview with you. Can you not come?"<sup>79</sup> Twenty days later Chase wrote:

Ray wishes you may come and so do I, though by no means certain it is of *much* consequence you should.

The President will make many important recommendations in his message, which I am afraid he will injure by too much specification and detail. Possibly you may be of use to the country and to the President, by coming.<sup>80</sup>

Barney tried to steer between Scylla and Charybdis:

Toward the end of the year 1863 Mr. Barney was urged by leading opponents of Mr. Chase to declare himself in favor of Mr. Lincoln; and was significantly warned that, unless he did so, "he would be attacked." Mr. Barney then emphatically renewed his refusal to take sides, and declared that he would continue to perform the duties of his office, and would be ready for attacks of whatever character and from whatever quarter. Early in January, 1864, the threatened attack came.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Schuckers, *Chase*, 477-78.

<sup>78</sup> Donald, ed., *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet*, 208-9.

<sup>79</sup> Lincoln to Barney, Nov. 11, 1863, *CW*, VII: 9.

<sup>80</sup> Chase to Barney, Dec. 1, 1863, Schuckers, *Chase*, 495.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 478. Weed had written to John Bigelow as early as March, 1863, that

While Barney was away from the Custom House on official business for two hours and a half on January 7, an examination of the papers of Louis Benjamin, lately sent to Fort Lafayette for smuggling to the Confederacy via Nassau, disclosed letters from Palmer to Benjamin and checks from Benjamin to Palmer. Palmer was immediately arrested, and was already on his way to Fort Lafayette by order of General John A. Dix when the Collector returned. Henry Stanton and his son Daniel Cady Stanton, who had accepted the false bonds, had resigned October 28, 1863; Barney at once dismissed debenture clerk William A. Smalley, who had aided in executing them.<sup>82</sup> Two days later, in a sixteen-page letter to Lincoln, Barney disclaimed all knowledge of the frauds and tried to exculpate himself for not discovering them sooner.<sup>83</sup>

Palmer's removal deprived Weed and his faction of their control of Custom House patronage. Moving like a whirlwind, five days after Palmer's arrest they sent Lincoln petitions signed by all the Republican state officers, 20 Republican senators, 78 Republican assemblymen and 21 members of the Union State Committee of New York, all recommending the appointment of Abram Wakeman, New York postmaster and a faithful Weed henchman, to replace Barney.<sup>84</sup> Some idea of the tactics used, however, may be gained from the following letter written on January 21 by State Comptroller

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"Opdyke and Field are endeavoring to get Barney removed" (John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life* [New York, 1909], I: 610), but Opdyke denied this (*N. Y. Tribune*, Jan. 5, 1865).

<sup>82</sup> Barney to Lincoln, Jan. 9, 1864, RTL; *N. Y. Herald, Times and Tribune*, Jan. 8, 1864 ff.; Hartman, "Politics and Patronage," 101; U. S. Congress, House, *Committee on Public Expenditures*, Report 111, XXXVIII Cong., 1 Sess., 2-4. See also *N. Y. Tribune*, Nov. 6, 1863 (Stanton's open letter), Jan. 22, 30, June 16, 17, 1864. Schuckers (*Chase*, 478-79) treats the Palmer case as a false accusation to attack Barney; but the testimony before the congressional committee leaves no doubt of his guilt, as well as that of Smalley and the Stantons. Palmer, with no formal acquittal or conviction, was released from Fort Lafayette on \$10,000 bond on Aug. 6, and the case seems to have been allowed to drop. *N. Y. Tribune*, Aug. 8, 1864.

<sup>83</sup> Barney to Lincoln, Jan. 9, 1864, RTL.

<sup>84</sup> Jan. 12, 1864, *ibid.* "When he [Weed] found that Palmer could not be saved, seeing that his own ascendancy in the C.H. was at an end, he turned upon Barney and the Wakeman movement is the result." Bailey to Chase, Jan. 13, 1864, *Chase Papers*, Lib. of Cong., quoted in Carman and Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage*, 278-79.

Lucius Robinson, who had signed one of the petitions:

A petition has been circulated & hastily signed here for the appointment of Mr. Wakeman collector at New York. It was reported & generally believed here that Mr. Barney had resigned & that there was no other candidate but Mr. Wakeman for the vacancy. So far as I was concerned I had no intention of asking for the *removal* of Mr. Barney. I can say the same of every one with whom I have spoken upon the subject, who signed the petition, & I have spoken with several.

I have known Mr. Barney long and intimately. I have always had unlimited confidence in his integrity & it is not in the least shaken by the misconduct of other parties in the custom house. I would not have asked for his removal at any time least of all at a time when it would seem to imply some responsibility on his part for the misconduct referred to.<sup>85</sup>

Barney's subordinates sprang to his defense. Mrs. Hannah M. Neilson, wife of a Custom House inspector, wrote on January 20:

Mr. Lincoln . . . I think you know it would be hard to replace him [Barney] with one more faithful and efficient. . . . There are some, *who to serve purely selfish ends*, have disgraced themselves far more than they can Mr. Barney, by attempts to displace him. . . . They dare not accuse him of any thing dishonorable, but are obliged to fall back upon a vague charge of "incapacity." It seems to me a refreshing thing in these times to find a man who has an "incapacity" for plunder—and whose sense of honor is so nice that he would *not* make a very good detective. . . .

It seems to me just as *unjust* to hold Mr Barney responsible for the treason and theft in his large department, as to charge to our good and faithful President the treason and dishonesty of the country generally. . . . My husband . . . says that the best proofs of Mr Barney's capability and honorable character are to be found in . . . the thorough business like manner in which all the Custom House business is transacted superior to any former administrations, as testified to by all parties *concerned*, and . . . in *the fear* that all the subordinates have of Mr Barney discovering any wrong, (whether wilful or otherwise.)<sup>86</sup>

And Charles S. Bartles of the Custom House, who had been collaborating with Senator Lyman Trumbull in the affair of Frank R. Judd, the wayward son of Lincoln's friend

<sup>85</sup> Robinson to Lincoln, Albany, Jan. 21, 1864, RTL.

<sup>86</sup> Mrs. Neilson to Lincoln, New York, Jan. 20, 1864, *ibid.*

and minister to Prussia, Norman B. Judd, wrote the Senator:<sup>87</sup>

It is generally understood here that we are to have a new Collector—that Mr. Barney is to resign—and that either Mr. Simeon Draper—or Postmaster Wakeman is to be his successor.

I sincerely trust that this is not so. . . .

The Collector has had a great deal of opposition to encounter from those who should have been his most earnest supporters. Time and again during the present year [1864] have his Republican enemies gone to Washington, and told Mr. Lincoln that he was opposed to the election of the Baltimore nominees [Lincoln and Andrew Johnson]—an assertion I know to be *untrue*. . . .

Mr. Barney . . . is a noble-hearted man—perhaps not enough of a *politician* to suit *all* Republicans—but honest and faithful as man can be. It will not do to change front in the face of an enemy—and any change at the present time would only injure us.<sup>88</sup>

The upstate press, which discussed the matter more than the metropolitan papers, took in general the ground that was to be the chief consideration until Barney's final removal—that, while personally honest, he was incapable of properly conducting the affairs of so large a concern as the Custom House. This typical editorial from the *Rochester Daily Express* was widely reprinted:

*The New York Custom House.*—The corruptions and general looseness of management of the New York Custom House is a favorite theme of the Copperhead press, and the alleged malfeasances in that quarter are made the basis of a general indictment of the whole administration. . . . It will not do to put a good-natured man, unused to official life, and with a "blind side," and easy going manner, in a place where hundreds of subordinates, all sharp set to exceed their lawful stipends . . . are watching for chances to turn into their own pockets the little rills of currency that ought to flow into the public treasury. . . .

An honest but simple minded man, incredulous respecting the speculative proclivities of that large class who in great cities manage to derive their subsistence from the public crib, has been placed at the seat of customs. This, at least, is the construction that charitably inclined persons put upon the

<sup>87</sup> For the tangled adventures of Frank Judd see Lincoln's letters (CW. VII: 27-28, VIII: 189-90, 224) and Bartles to Trumbull, July 29, Aug. 19, 25, Sept. 1, 5, 1864, Trumbull Papers.

<sup>88</sup> Bartles to Trumbull, Sept. 1, 1864, *ibid*.

repeated frauds that have made the Custom House infamous, and reflected disgrace upon the whole administration.<sup>89</sup>

## VII

Lincoln's own reaction was quite similar. Refusing to be stampeded by the rush of opposing testimony, he wrote Chase on January 11: "I am receiving letters and dispatches indicating an expectation that Mr. Barney is to leave the Custom House, at New York. Have you anything on the subject?"<sup>90</sup> Chase replied the next day: "Nothing at all, except urgent representations of the necessity of reform, which do not, at all impeach Mr. Barney, in whose integrity I have undiminished confidence."<sup>91</sup> The following day he wrote a longer letter, beginning:

I am to-day fifty-six years old. I have never consciously and deliberately injured a fellow man. It is too late for me to begin by sacrificing to clamor the reputation of a man whom I have known for more than twenty years, and whose repute for honesty has been all that time unsullied.

I shall not recommend the removal of Mr. Barney, except upon such show of his misconduct or incapacity as makes it my duty to do so.<sup>92</sup>

In letters to other correspondents Chase reiterated his faith in Barney.<sup>93</sup>

As the storm raged on, Lincoln bethought himself of the manner in which he had eased Simon Cameron out of the cabinet into the diplomatic corps, and sounded Chase to see whether a similar technique might get him out of his embarrassment over Barney:

I have felt considerable anxiety concerning the Custom House at New-York. Mr. Barney has suffered no abatement of my confidence in his honor and integrity; and yet I am convinced that he has ceased to be master of his

<sup>89</sup> The *Express* is not in RTL, but reprints of this editorial or similar views occur in clippings from 22 upstate newspapers in scrapbook form, filed under Jan. 12, 1864, though most of them bear date in late February.

<sup>90</sup> Lincoln to Chase, Jan. 11, 1864, *CW*, VII: 120.

<sup>91</sup> Chase to Lincoln, Jan. 12, 1864, RTL.

<sup>92</sup> Chase to Lincoln, Jan. 13, 1864, Warden, *Chase*, 556.

<sup>93</sup> Chase to William Orton, Dec. 18, 1863, Schuckers, *Chase*, 495; Chase to J. F. Bailey, Jan. 22, 1864, Warden, *Chase*, 559-60; Chase to Robert Campbell, Feb. 1, 1864, *ibid.*, 569.

position. A man by the name of Bailey,<sup>94</sup> whom I am unconscious of ever having seen, or even having heard of, except in this connection, expects to be, and even now assumes to be, Collector de facto, while Mr. Barney remains nominally so. . . . I propose sending Mr. Barney Minister to Portugal, as evidence of my continued confidence in him; and I further propose appointing \_\_\_\_\_ Collector of the Customs at New-York.<sup>95</sup>

"Misrepresentations, I am sure, must have been made to you about the New York Custom House," replied Chase. "I regret that I was not earlier consulted in a matter which so deeply concerns this Department & still trust, that before you take any definitive action, you will confer with me fully on the subject."<sup>96</sup> Chase can hardly have been entirely ingenuous in this reply, for he had written Greeley asking whether Daniel S. Dickinson would be a satisfactory successor to Barney, and had received the answer (dated February 10) that "no other living man would be so acceptable."<sup>97</sup>

Lincoln's private secretary John G. Nicolay was sent to New York to reconnoiter the situation, and reported on March 30 that Weed

did not think Mr. Barney a bad man but thought him a weak one. . . . Changes are constantly being made among the subordinates in the Custom House, and men turned out, for no other real reason than that they take active part in primary meetings &c., in behalf of your re-nomination. . . .

Judge [David] Davis . . . wrote him that . . . you did not seem ready to act in the appointment of a new Collector, and that he (the Judge) thought it was because of your apprehension that you would be merely getting "out of one muss into another."<sup>98</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Joshua F. Bailey, special Treasury agent at New York, who had for some time been engaged in investigating possible improvements in the business procedure of the Custom House.

<sup>95</sup> Lincoln to Chase, Feb. 12, 1864, *CW*, VII: 181. Lincoln had written "Hon. Preston King" in the blank, but had deleted the name. King was appointed Collector by Johnson, taking over Sept. 1, 1865, but committed suicide less than three months later apparently because of "the trying duties of his office." *N. Y. Tribune*, Nov. 15, 1865.

<sup>96</sup> Chase to Lincoln, Feb. 13, 1864, *RTL*.

<sup>97</sup> Carman and Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage*, 245. Dickinson had written a "Confidential" note to Lincoln on Jan. 7 that "Should events entirely independent of any suggestions of mine, & not otherwise, work a change in the head of the Custom House here the place would be acceptable to me" (*RTL*). See also Samuel A. Foot to Lincoln, Jan. 18, 1864, *ibid.*, offering "to make the Custom House as clean as a neat housewife's bread tray."

<sup>98</sup> Nicolay to Lincoln, March 30, 1864, *ibid.* Weed had written Lincoln on

In spite of the criticism, caused by the Stanton-Palmer-Smalley revelations, accusing Barney of being too lenient toward shipping to neutral ports near the Confederacy, Lord Lyons, the British minister, considered the Collector's policy unnecessarily severe:

I have read the letter of Lord Lyons which you left with me [wrote Chase to Seward]. . . . Mr. Barney is required to refuse clearances whenever he has satisfactory reasons to believe that goods, destined either for a foreign or domestic port, are intended for places under the control of the insurgents; and he is required, whenever he believes it necessary, to require a bond . . . that no part [of the cargo] shall be used for aid or comfort to insurgents.

You know how much complaint has been made against him for alleged taking of insufficient bonds on shipments to Nassau. . . .

Now, on the other hand, come the representations of Lord Lyons against the stringency and necessary severity of his action.<sup>99</sup>

Independent of executive action or inaction, Congress ordered an investigation of the Custom House by the Committee on Public Expenditures. Barney "is feeling depressed. The late frauds, or lately discovered frauds, annoy him,"<sup>100</sup> wrote Welles on January 23 when Barney, in Washington to give testimony, called at the Navy Department. "I suppose," Barney's son wrote him on the same day, "that since your successful defense or exposition before the Committee of the House your mind has been easier than before. Every body here seems to have entire faith in your triumph."<sup>101</sup> The committee's final verdict was that the irregularities "did not arise from any neglect in the custom-house in administering the law, but were organic in traffic carried on in similar circumstances, however

Feb. 27: "Mr. Bailey has the 'run' of the Custom-House, making Appointments freely for the benefit of his Chief" (*ibid.*). The charge that employees were dismissed simply because of favoring Lincoln's renomination seems baseless. Barney had told Chase the previous October that he would "go for Mr. Lincoln if he desires renomination" (*supra*), and among all the communications on the subject in RTL this charge is repeated only in one wretchedly misspelled missive (C. S. Delavan to Lincoln, New York, Jan. 21, 1864).

<sup>99</sup> Chase to Seward, May 30, 1864, Warden, *Chase*, 597. The *N. Y. Tribune* had already said on Jan. 14: "The leniency of the regulations . . . was the result of the remonstrances of Lord Lyons."

<sup>100</sup> *Diary of Gideon Welles*, I: 514.

<sup>101</sup> William Barney to Hiram Barney, New York, Jan. 23, 1864, Barney Papers.

regulated."<sup>102</sup> During the pendency of this investigation Lincoln let Barney know that he would now be willing to accept the resignation which Barney had offered the previous autumn, at the same time giving him the appointment to Portugal to testify to his continuing friendship and confidence. Barney, however, refused to resign under fire.<sup>103</sup> Maunsell Field says he recorded Lincoln's words on the subject as soon as the President left:

Something had to be done. There was no use in attempting to bring Chase over to my views. But I tried it and failed. Then I waited for a time. At last I made up my mind to take action, hoping to be able to afterward reconcile Chase to it. So I sent for Seward, and told him he must find a diplomatic position in Europe for Barney. Seward said it was not an easy thing to do; but I told him it must be done. After two or three days Seward came back, and reported to me that he had found the place. Just then Chase became aware of my little conspiracy. He was very angry; and he told me that the day that Mr. Barney left the New York Custom-House, with or without his own consent, he, Chase, would withdraw from the Secretaryship of the Treasury. Well, I backed down again.<sup>104</sup>

Chase noted in his diary a conversation with Lincoln on June 6:

The President called . . . and introduced the subject of the New York Custom House. . . .

I answered substantially as follows: "Since Mr. Barney was appointed collector, I have sometimes doubted his efficiency as an officer, but I have . . . found him intelligent and thoroughly earnest in his wishes to administer it correctly. Some . . . were dissatisfied with Mr. Barney while Mr. Palmer was his confidential clerk, and frequently urged me to recommend his removal to you. I never felt myself warranted in doing so. . . . Since Mr. Palmer's removal there has been a great deal of clamor, but it has not shaken my confidence in Mr. Barney, and I still believe that nothing would be gained by a change. . . .

"In my judgment the public interests do not require any change in the Collectorship of New York. If there should be a change, however, I think

<sup>102</sup> Schuckers, *Chase*, 479. Besides sessions in Washington, the committee held closed hearings in New York during March and April. *N. Y. Tribune*, Feb. 27, March 3, April 23, 1864.

<sup>103</sup> Schuckers, *Chase*, 479.

<sup>104</sup> Field, *Memories of Many Men*. 304; Sandburg, *War Years*, II: 642.

Mr. Barney's successor should be a man who will command the general confidence of the business community and of the public. . . . Such a man, I think is Mr. [William H.] Aspinwall, Mr. [William] Curtis Noyes, or Governor Dickinson." . . . The President, as he left the room, said, "I will think further of the matter, and do nothing until I have talked fully about it."<sup>105</sup>

On June 28 Chase was insisting on the nomination of Maunsell B. Field to succeed Cisco, who had resigned. Lincoln wrote him:

Much as I personally like Mr. Barney, it has been a great burden to me to retain him in his place, when nearly all our friends in New-York, were directly or indirectly, urging his removal. Then the apointment of Judge Hogeboom to be general Appraiser, brought me to and has ever since kept me at, the verge of open revolt. Now, the appointment of Mr. Field would precipitate me in it, unless Senator [Edwin D.] Morgan . . . could be brought to concur in it.<sup>106</sup>

Chase refused to recede, submitted his resignation, and two days later was out of the cabinet. Barney, however, was still Collector, and wrote Lincoln on July 8:

Your embarrassments in regard to my retention in office . . . have given me much anxiety and . . . distress. Under ordinary circumstances I could not hold your gift to your disadvantage. But the misrepresentations & abuse from which I have not been free since I went into office, culminated last January in attacks upon me so open and so fierce that justice to myself and to your selection of me for the office I hold alike demanded that I should meet these assaults and furnish full opportunity for the scrutiny of all my official acts. The ordeal has been a severe one. . . . The conclusions of the Committee have . . . coincided with the opinion which . . . is most prevalent here among those best qualified to judge, that that [*sic*] the custom House has been as well or better managed under your administration than under former administrations. . . . I have never in any manner aided or encouraged any opposition to your renomination. . . . There need be no apprehension of the fidelity of the officers and employees under my control, to our principles and candidates—and I will feel greatly obliged by any suggestions from you touching the best mode of ensuring your success in the coming election.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Warden, *Chase*, 601-3.

<sup>106</sup> Lincoln to Chase, June 28, 1864, *CW*, VII: 413-14.

<sup>107</sup> Barney to Lincoln, New York, July 8, 1864, *RTL*. Improved efficiency in the Custom House was testified to by prominent merchants such as Alexander T.

## VIII

Adding to Lincoln's personal disinclination to remove Barney were numerous letters prophesying political disadvantage from the change. By the end of the summer, however, the President had become convinced that Barney was too great a political liability to retain in face of the gathering opposition of the campaign. National Committee chairman Henry J. Raymond had written on August 30:

Every person with whom I have conversed has been *positive* in saying that a change was absolutely necessary, & that the sooner it was made the better. . . . A change in the *heads* will stimulate every person in office to earn retention,—& excite in everybody outside the hope of earning an appointment. . . . It seems, furthermore, *indispensable* that something should be done at once.<sup>108</sup>

Something was done at once. On the next day Barney's resignation was requested and received, to take effect September 5.<sup>109</sup> But the President still had to decide on a successor. Since it seemed to be a political necessity to give the post to a Seward-Weed man, the choice narrowed down to Postmaster Wakeman and merchant Simeon Draper. "Mr. Wakeman would make an excellent Collector," said the *Herald*, "much better than the Chevalier Barney, whose brains have been turned by a foreign title."<sup>110</sup> Draper, however, was appointed—Andrews remained as Surveyor—and wrote jubilantly to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

All goes well tomorrow I take hold. I have said in right quarters that I would do my duty to National Committee, that I hold every body *responsible*, for Mr Lincoln's reelection, and I will countenance nothing else.

Stewart. Schuckers, *Chase*, 479; *N. Y. Tribune*, July 29, 1864. Dorman B. Eaton said in 1881 that Barney was "perhaps as good a collector as the system would allow him to be . . . but he could not withstand the system, though he brought in a better class of men than he found." U. S. Congress, House, *Effects of Spoils System*, Exec. Doc. 94, XLVI Cong., 3 Sess., 14-15.

<sup>108</sup> Raymond to Lincoln, New York, Aug. 30, 1864, RTL.

<sup>109</sup> Hartman, "Politics and Patronage," 110.

<sup>110</sup> *N. Y. Herald*, Sept. 5, 1864. The "foreign title" was the Cross of a Commander of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, sent by Victor Emmanuel II of Italy to Barney and Admiral Hiram Paulding "for services rendered to the ironclad frigate *Re d'Italia*, when she went ashore at Barnegat." *N. Y. Tribune*, March 1, 1864.

. . . I will not make you wretched, or our chief unhappy, and we will elect him with a larger majority than before.<sup>111</sup>

Draper enclosed the New York newspapers' comments on the change. Most of them cried "Long live the king!" without even the courtesy of prefixing "The king is dead." The *Times* did say that "Mr. BARNEY retires from the post, with the respect and esteem of the whole community," and Bryant's *Evening Post* gave him a respectable official obituary:

We know of no reason why Mr. Barney should have resigned his place, as he discharged the duties of the office acceptably to the public and to the Department. . . . He was engaged, moreover, in the completion of a reform in the machinery of his office, which would greatly have facilitated its operations; and we regret that he did not remain to finish the work.<sup>112</sup>

Later the same month, in response to continued clamor to have "the two big puddings on the same side of the board" again, Lincoln removed Surveyor Andrews and replaced him by Wakeman.<sup>113</sup> In November Lincoln carried the Empire State by only 6,499 over McClellan. The accelerated efforts of the Seward-Weed Republicans may have turned the tide.

One wishes that the end of the Lincoln-Barney relationship might have been something other than the pathetic letter which Barney wrote to the President on January 11, 1865:

Wishing to pay my respects to you in person and to be assured that our friendly relations continue I have called, yesterday and to day as I did when here in October last; but having waited several hours in vain, I am compelled to relinquish the hope of success.

I have some things which I would like to say to you but if I never have the opportunity to say them I beg you to believe what is most true that I am & ever have been your true & faithful friend

HIRAM BARNEY.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Draper to Dole (two notes), New York, Sept. 7, 1864, RTL. His prediction fell wide of the mark—Lincoln's majority in New York in 1860 had been 50,136. Draper officially took over the Custom House on Sept. 8. *N. Y. Tribune*, Sept. 9, 1864.

<sup>112</sup> *N. Y. Times*, Sept. 6, 1864; *N. Y. Evening Post*, Sept. 5, 1864; both clipped and enclosed in Draper to Dole, Sept. 7, 1864, RTL.

<sup>113</sup> Appointed on Sept. 15, Wakeman took over the surveyorship on Oct. 1. Denison remained as Naval Officer until after Lincoln's death.

<sup>114</sup> Barney to Lincoln, Washington (on Executive Mansion stationery), Jan. 11, 1865, RTL.

# THE DODGE-HENRY CONTROVERSY

BY WILLIAM T. HAGAN

ON THE AFTERNOON of August 2, 1832, at the point above Prairie du Chien where the Bad Axe empties into the Mississippi, the last shots of the Black Hawk War were fired. That evening and the next day the bivouacked troops, jubilant over the smashing climax to a protracted and at times apparently hopeless campaign, opened a controversy which echoes into the mid-twentieth century. Although Black Hawk's warriors were eliminated as a threat to the frontier, the battle for honor and renown was just getting under way.

Certainly too little glory emerged from that campaign to allow of much division, but the battle still goes on in behalf of favorite sons of Illinois and Wisconsin, James D. Henry and Henry Dodge. A recent history of Illinois has commented that Henry's "claims to the honors of the Black Hawk War were disputed by the Dodges of Wisconsin and by regular officers, but any careful student must concede to Henry much of the credit for the battles of the Wisconsin and the Bad Axe which reduced Black Hawk and his band to abject submission."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Story of Illinois* (Chicago, 1949), 119.

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Historians generally accept that the turning point of the war came in July with the attempt of the Indians to slip out of their refuge among the Rock River marshes and escape across the Mississippi before the forces under General Henry Atkinson could take effective action. Had they been able to do so, the campaign undertaken back in April by the regulars and militia would have been a miserable failure. That the Indians did not escape was due to the action of troops under Henry and Dodge. They overtook the band as it retreated and sufficiently delayed it at the Wisconsin River so that the Indians were unable to cross the Mississippi before the main body of troops came up. Thus, much of the debate on the subject of credit for the Indian defeat must turn on the question of who controlled the movements of the troops at the time Black Hawk's band was overtaken at the Wisconsin River.

The careers and characters of the two protagonists are definitely a study in contrasts. In 1832 James D. Henry was the sheriff of Sangamon County. He had migrated to Illinois from Pennsylvania about 1822 and settled at Edwardsville where he worked as a shoemaker. The brawny six-footer was remembered as a sheriff for his gentle and courteous, but firm ways. A contemporary described him as "modest and retiring," until his temper was raised. Nor was Henry without military experience of the frontier variety. He had served in the force called out to quell the Winnebago uprising in 1827 and had participated in the bloodless campaign which had evicted Black Hawk in 1831.

Henry Dodge, James D. Henry's rival for military honors, was well known on the frontier. The fifty-year-old, compactly built, dark-featured Dodge was a man to be reckoned with on the upper Mississippi. A natural leader, during an action-packed career he had served as sheriff in Missouri, marshal of the Territory of Missouri, and had risen to the rank of major general in the Missouri militia. Acquitting himself well in the War of 1812, he had turned to lead mining when peace

settled over the West and in 1827 moved to the new lead fields on the upper Mississippi. Arriving shortly before Red Bird precipitated the Winnebago outbreak, Dodge had been chosen by his fellow miners to lead them. When Black Hawk violated his treaty agreements in 1832, Henry Dodge once more emerged as the leader of the rough and ready miners.

During the summer months of 1832 Henry and Dodge joined several thousand Illinois militia, Michigan territorial volunteers, and regulars drawn from several frontier posts in a highly exasperating mission. They were endeavoring once again to drive the aged, recalcitrant Sauk brave, Black Hawk, and over a thousand of his followers, including women and children, from the east side of the Mississippi, to which the Indians had crossed contrary to 1831 treaty stipulations.

Though Black Hawk had led his followers back to their old haunts along the Rock early in April, the force which was eventually to rout him was not organized and underway until late in June. Under the over-all command of a veteran of the frontier, Brigadier General Henry Atkinson of the United States Army, the force consisted largely of Illinois militia. To lead them, men of the First and Second Brigades of Atkinson's militia force elected Alexander Posey, a thirty-eight-year-old Shawneetown physician, and Milton K. Alexander, an Illinois politician. Third Brigade men honored Henry, then a candidate for re-election as sheriff of Sangamon County, with the command of their unit.

In Atkinson's plan of campaign, Henry's Third Brigade was to move, with the regulars and Alexander's Second Brigade, up the left, or east, bank of the Rock River at whose headwaters the fugitive Indians were presumably lurking. To the right bank of the Rock, Atkinson dispatched Posey's First Brigade to co-operate with Henry Dodge and his small detachment of volunteers from the lead mining area above Galena. Indeed, Posey was to do more than to co-operate with Colonel Dodge, who derived his title from the Michigan

territorial militia. General Atkinson's instructions to General Posey ordered him to "report and receive the orders of General Dodge who is an officer of great experience and merit and is acquainted with the country."<sup>2</sup>

Prior to Atkinson's dispatching Posey's brigade to serve under him, Dodge had already conferred twice with the general. And the lead mining colonel was now known as the Hero of Pecatonica. In a vicious little skirmish Dodge and a few of his miners had wiped out an Indian war party which had been harassing the settlements. The victory had an effect out of all proportion to the number of men involved and had shown that frontiersmen, properly led, were a match for Black Hawk's warriors.

Regardless of Dodge's reputation, the Illinois militia of Posey's brigade did not propose to have their leader chosen for them. Well versed in the ways of the frontier, the colonel did not insist on assuming command unless elected to it, knowing full well that more than Atkinson's written order would be needed to establish his authority. In the election that followed, Posey's men stood by their neighbor and the fighting physician remained in command of the First Brigade.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the ill feeling aroused by the situation led Dodge to request that another brigade be substituted for Posey's in the operations on the right bank of the Rock.<sup>4</sup> Atkinson was anxious to accommodate Dodge, whom he regarded highly, and sent Alexander to the right bank and ordered Posey to join the troops on the left bank.<sup>5</sup>

That was not the only aspect of Atkinson's plans that

<sup>2</sup> Atkinson to Posey, June 28, 1832, in the Office of the Adjutant General Document File, National Archives. See also Atkinson to Dodge, June 22, 1832, *ibid.*: Atkinson to Taylor and Brady, June 22, 1832, in Atkinson's Letter Book, Illinois State Historical Library.

<sup>3</sup> William Salter, *The Life of Henry Dodge from 1782 to 1833* (Burlington, Iowa, 1890), 44.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Bracken, "Further Strictures on Ford's Black Hawk War," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the year 1855* (Madison, 1856): II: 404-405.

<sup>5</sup> Order No. 49, July 6, 1832, Atkinson's Order Book, Illinois State Historical Library. See also, Atkinson to Cass, July 6, 1832, in the Office of the Adjutant General Document File, National Archives.

went awry. The redskins obstinately refused to stand their ground and be slaughtered. Retreating before the white men as they toiled up the Rock, the Indians seemed to the exasperated troops to be a veritable will-o'-the-wisp. By July 10 the pursuit had ground to a halt. Two of the brigades had wasted their supplies and Atkinson had to send for rations. To Fort Winnebago at the portage of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers he dispatched the brigades under Alexander and Henry, together with Dodge and his miners. They carried orders to return without delay.

The evening of July 11 Dodge's force arrived at Fort Winnebago, situated on an elevation overlooking the portage of the Wisconsin and Fox. The following morning the Colonel ordered the bakers at the fort to prepare bread for his grumbling men. The miners had had rough riding to reach Fort Winnebago and they threatened to return to their homes if Dodge insisted upon going back by the same route. At this critical point, John H. Kinzie came to the Colonel's assistance.<sup>6</sup> The son of the Chicago pioneer and a former employee of the American Fur Company, Kinzie was currently the Winnebago subagent at the portage. He produced for Dodge's examination a party of Winnebago who claimed to know the location of the hostile Indians. Moreover, the co-operative agent assisted in procuring the services of Pierre Pacquette as interpreter—he was the half-breed son of a French trader and a Winnebago squaw. Through Pacquette, the Winnebago told Dodge that Black Hawk was camped at the rapids of the Rock, near the site of present-day Hustisford, Wisconsin.

Atkinson's orders had directed Dodge, Henry, and Alexander to return without delay, though he had not specified a route. Aware that his unruly troopers would probably desert him if he returned the way he had come, and fortified by the Winnebago reports on Black Hawk's band, Dodge urged that

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<sup>6</sup> Dodge to Kinzie, Jan. 5, 1833, in Michigan Superintendency Field Papers, Porter Letter Book, Volume 1, National Archives.

Henry and Alexander join him in a march to the rapids. Alexander cautiously declined to risk Atkinson's wrath, but Henry agreed to co-operate with the forceful colonel. Early in the morning of July 15 Alexander marched for Atkinson's headquarters and Henry and Dodge moved east toward the reported location of Black Hawk.

The combined force of the commanders leaving Fort Winnebago behind Pacquette and his Winnebago did not exceed six hundred men. One of Henry's regiments had remained to guard supplies at Fort Wilbourn and Ottawa on the Illinois River, and a number of his men who had lost their mounts returned with Alexander to Atkinson's headquarters at Fort Koshkonong (now Fort Atkinson). And fifty miners had left their colonel at Fort Winnebago to return home.<sup>7</sup>

Though Dodge had authority to command only the one hundred and fifty miners in his squadron, Henry deferred to his general recommendations. As Atkinson's respectful treatment of him indicated, the Colonel was a man of renown and experience on the frontier. His fellow commander, in contrast, was that phenomenon among politicians, a shy and retiring public office-holder. He undoubtedly had ability, but the Sheriff of Sangamon County was not in the same class with the Hero of Pecatonica.

Plainly indicative of the relation of the two commanders were their ranks in the newly organized battalion of United States Rangers. While at Fort Winnebago Dodge accepted a commission as major to command the Rangers, whereas the younger and less experienced Henry was offered a commission as captain to serve under Dodge.

Guided by Pacquette and seven or eight Winnebago, Dodge and Henry arrived at the rapids July 18. Contrary to their expectations, the only Indians found there were a few Winnebago occupying a small village in the midst of a heavy growth of timber. Dodge anxiously interrogated the Winne-

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<sup>7</sup> Dodge to Atkinson, July 18, 1832, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

bago, who reported that the band was camped on a lake not more than twenty miles north. After consulting with the other officers, Dodge and Henry decided to notify Atkinson of their situation and prepare to march north the next day. The two adjutants from their commands volunteered to carry the message. That same afternoon, guided by a Winnebago, they set out for Atkinson's headquarters. They had ridden less than twelve miles when they crossed a fresh trail heading southwest.<sup>8</sup>

Judging from the nature of the trail, only Black Hawk's band could have made it. The excited adjutants wanted to continue on to Fort Koshkonong, but the frightened Winnebago guide balked and turned back. Night was approaching and the messengers were unable to continue without their guide.

The adjutants soon overtook the Winnebago and all three rode back to the camp they had left that afternoon. Though welcomed by a volley from nervous sentries, they escaped injury and communicated their exhilarating discovery to their delighted commanders. Dodge and Henry agreed that the trail must be that of the main band of hostiles and feverishly prepared to take up the pursuit at daylight.

The afternoon of the third day of the pursuit, Dodge and Henry overtook the Indians as they were preparing to cross the Wisconsin River. Though the whites could not prevent the crossing, they did inflict a demoralizing defeat on the fugitives. The bulk of Black Hawk's followers escaped, only to be caught later at the mouth of the Bad Axe preparing for a second river crossing.

Even in the interim between the battle at the Wisconsin River crossing and the resumption of pursuit, it was apparently Dodge who took the initiative in planning until Atkinson came up. He suggested that an artillery piece be stationed to block

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<sup>8</sup> Dodge to Atkinson and Henry to Atkinson, July 19, 1832, both in Black Hawk War Miscellaneous Papers, National Archives.

those Indians drifting down the Wisconsin, and advised Henry and Posey on the disposition of their brigades.<sup>9</sup>

In retrospect it is obvious that the break Atkinson needed to conclude a successful campaign occurred when the adjutants happened on the Indian trail. Their presence there resulted directly from decisions made jointly by Dodge and Henry. However, the preponderance of evidence points to Dodge as the senior partner in that association. He took the initiative in formulating the decision, and if any one individual can be singled out to honor it must be Henry Dodge. Any careful student must concede James D. Henry credit for the work he did, but to Henry Dodge must go the greenest laurels.

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<sup>9</sup> Dodge to . . . . ., July 22, 1832, in *Niles Register*, Aug. 18, 1832; Dodge to Atkinson, July 24, 1832, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

# JOHN MASON PECK: A STUDY OF HISTORICAL RATIONALIZATION

BY MERTON L. DILLON

WITH the rapid growth of abolitionist sentiment during the pre-Civil War decade, a record of association with the antislavery movement in its earlier and less popular phases came to be considered a mark of distinction by many Northerners. Much of the bitterness and hostility toward Abolitionists which characterized the 1830's had by that time disappeared, and in their place the popular mind had granted a somewhat heroic character to the early antislavery crusaders. As sectional tensions heightened yearly after 1850 and as the antislavery movement attained political expression through the Republican Party, the once-hated Abolitionists began to achieve a measure of respect as spokesmen of the future.

Desiring to share in the new prestige accorded antislavery advocates, aging men little identified with the leadership of this movement were naturally inclined to search their memories for recollections of their own earlier antislavery activity. And, minds working as they do, some of them found it easy to forget their former conservatism and to suppose that they had in fact been among the pioneer workers against slavery.

Such, it appears, was the experience of the Rev. John Mason Peck, Illinois' most famous Baptist clergyman, illus-

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trious missionary, educator, and man of letters. For Peck, who had distrusted the Abolitionists and all their works in the 1830's, stepped forward after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the formation of the Republican Party, to claim in 1855 that he, too, belonged with the now-honored company who had campaigned against slavery in frontier days.

It was well known, however, that Peck had stood with the conservatives in opposition to Elijah P. Lovejoy and other Abolitionists during the height of the controversy in the mid-1830's.<sup>1</sup> Actually, the antislavery movement in the Midwestern states had progressed through two discrete stages, and while Peck had vigorously opposed the abolition agitation of the 1830's, largely because of what he termed its "political character," he had played a major role in the earlier and equally strong activity which had reached a climax in Illinois in 1823 and 1824. Antislavery leaders at that time had worked successfully to prevent the calling of a constitutional convention, which, it was generally believed, would have legalized slavery in the state. In 1855, three years before he died, Peck prepared a historical account of the convention movement in the form of a letter to Hooper Warren, another pioneer antislavery worker, who apparently accepted the major points of Peck's version of the past. Probing his memory of the events of thirty years before, Peck discovered that he had been one of the principal leaders—if not indeed the chief one—in that almost forgotten struggle. It was "an individual well known to the writer," Peck declared (and he could have meant only himself), who had organized the antislavery sentiment in St. Clair County and thus led to the calling of the important organizational meeting of the St. Clair Society for the Prevention of Slavery in Illinois; it was he who had written the influen-

<sup>1</sup> For Peck's record in the 1830's, see *Alton*, [Ill.] *Western Pioneer*, July 29, 1836, Oct. 27, 1837; Peck to the Rev. Dr. Proudfit, Nov. 14, 1837, *African Repository*, XIII (1837), 378-380; Rufus Babcock, ed., *Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoir of John Mason Peck, D.D., Edited from His Journals and Correspondence* (Philadelphia, 1864), 275; Edward Beecher, *Narrative of Riots at Alton* (Alton, 1838), 64.

address of its board of managers; it was he who had drafted its constitution; and, he implied, it was this same "individual" who by traveling through "nearly every county of the state" had almost single-handedly welded the numerous local societies into an effective, unified organization sufficiently powerful to defeat the attempt to make Illinois a slave state. Peck admitted, in short, that he had led the political movement against the extension of slavery in 1824 somewhat as Northerners were organizing political resistance in 1855.<sup>2</sup>

If all of this were true, Peck would have deserved much of the credit for saving Illinois for freedom and would consequently be entitled to claim from his contemporaries honors in addition to those already heaped upon his venerable head. Few in 1855 seem to have doubted his version of the past. To men in the last decade before the Civil War, who spoke easily about the "Slave Power" and its conspiracies to convert free men and free soil, Peck's account seemed both plausible and appealing: Here among them, still living, was the man who more than three decades earlier had successfully led the campaign to defeat one of the most brazen schemes the "Slavocracy" had ever directed against free Illinois.

Although Illinois historians in the late nineteenth century were inclined to accept Peck's account, skeptics, finding no corroborative evidence, have long discounted his vast claims.<sup>3</sup> Even Peck's early biographer, who might have been expected to magnify his subject's achievements, concluded on the basis of his study of Peck's journal (which has since disappeared) that, although Peck had certainly opposed the convention and slavery, no evidence existed to substantiate the details of his later account.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, a disturbing fact

<sup>2</sup> Peck to Warren, March 27, 1855, *Free West*, May 3, 1855, quoted in Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Governor Edward Coles (Illinois State Historical Collections, XV, Springfield, 1920)*, 333-34; Replication by Warren, May 3, 1855, *ibid.*, 337-38.

<sup>3</sup> Compare, for example, the acceptance of Peck's account in William H. Brown, *An Historical Sketch of the Early Movement in Illinois for the Legalization of Slavery* (Chicago, 1876), 27, with the sketch of Peck by Theodore C. Pease in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 381-382, where the claims are ignored.

<sup>4</sup> Babcock, ed., *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, 195.

remained to trouble doubting historians: Peck had one powerful and apparently independent witness—former-Governor John Reynolds, who had been an associate justice of the Illinois Supreme Court during the antislavery troubles of the 1820's. Reynolds' autobiography, published in 1855 (the same year Peck's account appeared), seemed to confirm the major points of Peck's story. Though his work exhibited conspicuous weaknesses as history, its implications that Peck's story possibly might be true, in spite of the lack of contemporary evidence, could not be ignored.<sup>5</sup>

Not even this possibility, however, need any longer be seriously entertained. Reynolds' account, far from corroborating Peck, may very well have had its ultimate source with him. Indeed, it is possible that Peck with his own pen wrote this section of Reynolds' book; for on March 14, 1855, two weeks before Peck wrote his letter revealing to the world the story of his antislavery activity, Reynolds reported to John Russell, his friend and literary adviser, that Peck was helping him write his book. "Dr. Peck is here with me on the Grand Jury," he confided, "and is giving my work an over hauling, for which I feel thankful." And in a postscript to the same letter, he added, "Dr. P. is revising my manuscript."<sup>6</sup>

Was there, then, no substance at all to Peck's account? Was the whole thing the creation of an old man's imagination, a kind of rationalization of the events of his youth to fit changing times? The answer must be that Peck had in fact played a significant part in the early antislavery movement, but a part considerably different from his version of 1855. During the 1820's, clergymen of various denominations fearlessly condemned the proposed convention as an attempt to convert Illinois into a slave state, and there is no reason whatsoever to doubt that Peck was included among them. Indeed,

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<sup>5</sup> John Reynolds, *My Own Times, Embracing Also the History of My Life* (Belleville, Ill., 1855), 242.

<sup>6</sup> Reynolds to Russell, March 14, 1855, John Russell Papers, Illinois State Historical Library.

one of his surviving speeches, made during the controversy, provides a thorough indictment of slavery based upon Biblical principles, an indictment of which any later Abolitionist might have been proud.<sup>7</sup>

There is no evidence, however, that Peck at this time did more than speak against slavery. During the summer of 1824, at the height of the controversy, Peck, according to his own contemporary account, traveled through twenty counties in Illinois and eighteen in Missouri as an agent for the American Bible Society and as a Baptist missionary.<sup>8</sup> But he carefully explained to the secretary of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, whose agent he was, that he had studiously avoided overstepping the conventional limits of missionary activity. And no reliable evidence has ever appeared to suggest that he was not telling the truth in this matter. Late in 1824, he described the extent of his services to the antislavery cause in clear and probably accurate fashion: "Illinois was then [1823-1824] shaken to its centre with the harrassing and distressing question of the introduction of slavery. And though I had avoided mingling with the politics of the day, my sentiments on that question were well known. Concealment would have been criminal."<sup>9</sup>

Peck, then, while freely expressing his antislavery sentiments during the controversy, had "avoided mingling with the politics of the day." Furthermore, he had followed a similar course four years earlier when Missouri had been convulsed with the issue of the status slavery should have within its boundaries. At that time Peck was traveling through Missouri Territory as a Baptist missionary. When charges ap-

<sup>7</sup> Peck's address is in *Edwardsville* [Ill.] *Spectator*, Aug. 16, 1823; for evidence of the clergy's activity, see Peck to Absalom Peters, Nov. 10, 1829, American Home Missionary Society Papers, Chicago Theological Seminary; *Edwardsville Spectator*, Sept. 6, Nov. 22, 1823; *Illinois Intelligencer* (Vandalia), July 5, Aug. 23, 1823; *Illinois Gazette* (Shawneetown), Oct. 11, 1823.

<sup>8</sup> Peck to the Secretary, Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, Nov. 1, 1824, *American Baptist Magazine*, n.s. V (1825), 56.

<sup>9</sup> Peck to the Secretary, Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, Dec. 27, 1824, *ibid.*, 89.

peared in a St. Louis newspaper accusing him and a ministerial companion of using their influence to spread antislavery ideas, Peck made haste to reply in the public press. Neither he nor his friend, Peck wrote, had engaged in any “‘*political preaching*.’” And, he added, “I have had too much regard to the cause of religion, the interests of the country, and my own public and private reputation, to preach on slavery or any other subject of party politics.”<sup>10</sup>

Opposition to the mingling of slavery and politics was Peck's stand in 1820, and it remained essentially his position in the 1830's. There is no convincing reason to suppose that he abandoned it in 1823 and 1824 in order to engage in extensive antislavery activity of the sort which he would almost certainly have condemned as “political.” In short, nothing remains to support Peck's disclosures of 1855. They must be taken for what they were—the adjustment of a public man's view of his past to be compatible with a new age in which political antislavery action no longer seemed reprehensible.

But Peck, who perhaps supposed in 1855 that his own “public and private reputation” would be enhanced if he could establish himself as having been a leader in the political struggles of the 1820's, had no need to add to his antislavery record to attain the plaudits of his fellowmen. His claim to an honored place in the early antislavery movement in the United States is quite secure without addition. He was one of those select clergymen who in that early day and in a time of crisis dared to speak out against an institution of whose iniquity they were convinced. Their influence upon the course of history few can doubt. If, in his old age, Peck represented his youthful record to accord with a changing public sentiment, it proves only his human frailty—that he was a man like any other. For the mind plays tricks upon us all, and time shifts men's judgments of the record of their lives.

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<sup>10</sup> *St. Louis [Mo.] Enquirer*, April 15, 1820; *Missouri Intelligencer* (Franklin), June 17, 1820.

# GOVERNOR FORD AND THE DEATH OF JOSEPH AND HYRUM SMITH

BY GEORGE R. GAYLER

BETWEEN 1839 and 1844, the Mormons, under the leadership of their Prophet, Joseph Smith, succeeded in establishing at Nauvoo, Illinois, what was perhaps the most unusual *imperium in imperio* in United States history. However, the hostility of their Gentile neighbors, which had plagued the sect during trying times in Ohio and Missouri, soon manifested itself in western Illinois. Stories of theft, the introduction of polygamy, and the threat to the always delicate frontier political situation in Illinois, soon turned the Gentiles against them. For some time unpleasant "incidents" had been becoming more and more numerous. Then Joseph Smith's ruthless and unwise crushing of an opposition newspaper within Nauvoo, the *Nauvoo Expositor*, in June, 1844, served as the spark to set off a chain of events that was to culminate in the death of the Mormon leader, a "Mormon War," and the expulsion of most members of the sect from Illinois.

After Joseph Smith ordered the destruction of the *Expositor* press, a new and, to that time, most violent outbreak of opposition flared. The owners and operators of the newspaper fled to nearby Carthage, where they quickly clamored for justice.<sup>1</sup> Almost immediately an attempt was made to arrest the

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1950), VI: 460.

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Mormon leader and others named as instigators of the "Expositor Affair." David Bettisworth, agent for the county court at Carthage, was dispatched to Nauvoo to arrest those men named in the indictment.<sup>2</sup>

The writ ordered Smith and the other defendants to appear before Judge Thomas Morrison of Carthage "or some other justice of the peace." The Prophet immediately pointed out that the wording of the writ placed no obligation on him to appear at Carthage; instead he declared he was ready to appear before any justice of the peace in Nauvoo. Smith stated that Bettisworth, realizing he had been out-generaled in the matter, "seemed very wrathful" and he "swore he would be damned but he would carry them [the defendants] to Carthage before [Judge] Morrison, who issued the writ. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Smith wrote in his diary: "I felt so indignant at his [Bettisworth's] abuse in depriving me of the privilege of the statute of Illinois in going before 'some other justice,' that I determined to take out a writ of *habeas corpus*."<sup>4</sup> Smith promptly sued for such a writ, which was just as promptly granted by the acquiescent municipal court of Nauvoo, and he was freed along with all the other defendants.<sup>5</sup>

Joseph Smith's challenge to their legal authority was promptly accepted by the citizens of Hancock County and the anti-Mormon inhabitants turned to threats of force. Public meetings were held in various places giving expression to the popular indignation. The threat of a "Mormon War," reminiscent of bloody days in Missouri, appeared all too imminent.

The town of Warsaw, on the Mississippi River about

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<sup>2</sup> William A. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons* (New York, 1923), 295. The fourteen Mormons in addition to Smith named in the writ were the following members of the church hierarchy and of the Nauvoo city council: Samuel Bennett, John Taylor, W. W. Phelps, John P. Greene, Stephen Perry, Dimick B. Huntington, William Edwards, Jonathan Holmes, Jesse P. Harmon, John Lytle, Joseph W. Coolidge, Harvey D. Redfield, Orin Porter Rockwell, and Levi Richards. The writ can be found in full in Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 453-54.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 454.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> The entire proceedings of the Nauvoo municipal court can be found in *ibid.*, 456-58.

twenty miles south of Nauvoo, was considered the most violent anti-Mormon neighborhood, and its local newspaper, the *Warsaw Signal*, was especially bitter in its attacks. On June 12, five days following Smith's ruthless destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, the *Warsaw Signal* furiously declared:

We have only to state that this [destruction of the *Expositor* press] is sufficient! War and extermination is inevitable! CITIZENS ARISE, ONE and ALL!!! Can you *stand* by, and suffer such INFERNAL DEVILS! to ROB men of their property rights, without avenging them. We have no time for comment! every man will make his own. LET IT BE WITH POWDER AND BALL!!<sup>6</sup>

Governor Ford related that Hyrum Smith was reported to have offered a reward for the destruction of this paper,<sup>7</sup> though the Mormons in a public proclamation on June 17 denied the charge.<sup>8</sup> In Warsaw a citizens' resolution called for all-out war of extermination. A force of 150 men was gathered, and \$1,000 was voted for supplying the force.<sup>9</sup> The war-like attitude within Warsaw was shown by a news item dated June 19: "Business has been almost entirely suspended, and every able bodied man is under arms and almost constantly in drill."<sup>10</sup> Several other neighboring communities, including Carthage, Rushville, and Macomb, passed similar resolutions and went on a war-like footing.

Numerous rumors concerning the Mormons were circulated, and calls were made for the militia to protect non-Mormons against armed Mormon marauders who were believed to be in the area. When these rumors reached the ears of Governor Thomas Ford, he addressed an open letter to the citizens of Hancock County. In his message, published on June 12 in the *Warsaw Signal*, the Governor urged the people to be calm and avert any act that might be regretted later.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Warsaw Signal*, June 12, 1844.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), 329.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 495.

<sup>9</sup> Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 297. A complete copy of this resolution can be found in Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 463-66.

<sup>10</sup> *Warsaw Signal*, June 19, 1844.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, June 12, 1844.

But his advice was disregarded. Two days later the *Signal* issued a special edition which consisted in its entirety of a violent and abusive attack upon the Mormons.<sup>12</sup>

Governor Ford's direct involvement in the affair occurred when, on June 17, he was visited at the state capital by a committee of Hancock County citizens who hysterically urged that he call out the militia immediately.<sup>13</sup> This had not been the first instance that such a demand had been made upon Ford. The preceding January, the Illinois Governor had been asked to interfere in disturbances in Nauvoo, but had refused.

On January 29, 1844, in what appears to have been a letter written from Springfield in reply to a Carthage citizen, Ford stated:

I have observed with regret that occasions have been presented for disturbing the peace of your county; and if I knew what I could legally do to apply a correction, I should be very ready to do it. But if you are a lawyer or at all conversant in matters of law you will know and fully admit that I as Governor, have no power at this time, to interfere in your difficulties.<sup>14</sup>

By June, however, the character of the rumors concerning conditions in Hancock County reaching the Illinois Governor had prompted a change of attitude. He therefore "determined to visit in person that section of the country, and examine for myself the truth and nature" of the disturbances and complaints of the citizens. Upon his arrival at Carthage on June 21, Ford found a considerable force assembled as a *posse comitatus*, and similar forces from McDonough and Schuyler counties were also in the city.<sup>15</sup> It was estimated by a local newspaper that 250 men were under arms in Warsaw, 300 in Carthage; and that the Mormons had 4,000 men under arms. "If he [Governor Ford] does not act," the *Signal* declared, "there is no need for a Governor."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, June 14, 1844.

<sup>13</sup> Ford, *History of Illinois*, 324.

<sup>14</sup> From letter by Gov. Thomas Ford, Jan. 29, 1844. In Chicago Historical Society Library Collection. The recipient of this letter is not known.

<sup>15</sup> Ford, *History of Illinois*, 324.

<sup>16</sup> *Warsaw Signal*, June 29, 1844.

Ford's first action was to organize the various elements of armed bodies of men. Next he wrote a lengthy letter to Joseph Smith on June 22. In it he stressed again his decision to arrest the Prophet and the others named on the previous arrest order, but promised at the same time a guarantee of safety for the accused.<sup>17</sup> Ford next exacted an oath from members of the militiamen gathered in and around Carthage that those groups would sustain him in a strictly legal course; that the prisoners, when taken, would be free from violence.

In the meantime, a small posse led by a constable from Carthage arrived at Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting Smith and his followers. Smith was hidden by the citizens of Nauvoo, and after making no real attempt to discover the Prophet's whereabouts, the posse returned to Carthage, and reported to the Governor that the accused had fled.<sup>18</sup>

What had taken place the night of the attempted arrest of Smith was not brought out for some time. Upon hearing of the posse's approach, Joseph and Hyrum Smith and several others had slipped away from Nauvoo, entered a leaky boat, and had rowed to the Iowa side of the river. The Prophet had planned to flee to the Rocky Mountains and had provided for the evacuation of his wife, Emma, and his children by steamboat to Cincinnati.<sup>19</sup> Upon arriving on the Iowa side of the river, one of the party was sent back to Nauvoo to obtain horses for the Smith brothers. When this messenger returned, it was not with the desired mounts, but with news of Emma Smith's refusal to leave, along with her pleas for Joseph to return and give himself up. Others then joined in pleading with the Prophet. Some even accused him of cowardice for

<sup>17</sup> Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 537.

<sup>18</sup> Ford, *History of Illinois*, 333. Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 298.

<sup>19</sup> This is especially notable in view of Smith's previous criticism of his followers who likewise had planned to flee the city. At one time the Mormon Prophet is reported to have exclaimed that if the people of Nauvoo did not back him "until they waded KNEE DEEP IN BLOOD, they might go to HELL and be DAMNED, and he would go and build another city." *Quincy Whig*, June 19, 1844. Smith also was reported to have ordered "anathemizing all persons who had expressed any disposition to leave the city." *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield, Ill.), June 27, 1844.

having deserted his people in a time of crisis. Discovering that Hyrum was also in favor of returning, Joseph finally gave in, though with misgivings. "If you go back," Joseph said to Hyrum, "I will go with you, but we shall be butchered."<sup>20</sup>

Immediately following his return to Nauvoo, Smith dispatched a message to Governor Ford in which the Prophet indicated his decision to give himself up. He promised to appear the following day, June 24, at 2 P.M.<sup>21</sup> Accordingly, Smith, and all those named in the arrest order on the charge of riot in the destruction of the *Expositor*, started for Carthage the following morning. They were met four miles out of the town by a company of sixty of the McDonough County militia; and with this armed escort (which was believed needed), they were taken to the Carthage jail. On the trip to town Joseph Smith made his last prophecy:

I am going like a lamb to the slaughter, but I am calm as a summer's morning. I have a conscience void of offence toward God and toward all men. If they take my life I shall die an innocent man, and my blood shall cry from the ground for vengeance, and it shall be said of me 'He was murdered in cold blood!'<sup>22</sup>

The reason for Smith's apprehension, as well as the state of mind of the Carthage mob, was shown by the reception given the party upon their entrance into the village. While Smith was passing through the public square, "many of the troops, especially the Carthage Greys, made use of the following expressions: 'Where is the damned prophet?' 'Stand away, you McDonough boys, and let us shoot the damned Mormons.' 'G-- D-- you, old Joe, we've got you now'. . . at the same time whooping, yelling, hooting, and cursing like a pack of savages.'<sup>23</sup>

While these events were taking place, Governor Ford

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<sup>20</sup> This episode is given in detail in Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 547-50.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 550.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 555.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 559-60. No mention of this incident was made in Carthage or Warsaw newspapers of the time.

had been busy at Carthage. At the same time that Smith was being led to the city jail, Ford proposed to march to Nauvoo. The council of militia officers, to which the proposal was made, however, was of the opinion that its group was too small for such a venture, and the Governor immediately realized the wisdom of hesitancy. The expedition to the Mormon city was, therefore, delayed. Nauvoo at the time was described by Ford as "one great military camp, strictly guarded and watched," and the fear of the Nauvoo Legion was uppermost in the minds of many.<sup>24</sup> It was estimated that the Mormons had a force of three or four thousand men under arms to defend their city.<sup>25</sup> If this report was true, and it probably was, the hesitancy on the part of the anti-Mormons and the Governor was well founded. In fact, it has been declared that "nothing but the wholesome fear of the strength and effectiveness of the Nauvoo Legion" had held back the disorganized mobs from a sack of the city.<sup>26</sup>

Governor Ford next debated a further call for militia, but delayed this action because of the season of the year. The men were needed to plant crops as the weather had just turned suitable for plowing, and "the loss of two weeks, or even of one, at that time, was likely to produce a general famine all over the country."<sup>27</sup> Instead Ford decided upon an alternate maneuver. He made a sudden request upon the Nauvoo Legion for the surrender of state arms in its possession. It was believed that this would virtually have the same effect as multiplying many times Ford's own forces. It would, therefore, make the excursion to Nauvoo a much safer venture. However, it was later reported to Ford by one of the officers of the Illinois militia sent to take command of the Legion, that 2,000 members of that body appeared fully armed. "So it appears," commented the Illinois Governor, "they had a suffi-

<sup>24</sup> Ford, *History of Illinois*, 333.

<sup>25</sup> *Quincy Whig*, June 26, 1844.

<sup>26</sup> Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: xl.

<sup>27</sup> Ford, *History of Illinois*, 334.

ciency of private arms for any reasonable purpose.”<sup>28</sup> Ford conceded, however, that there was no evidence in the quartermaster-general’s office of the number and description of arms with which the Legion had been furnished. This missing information was willingly furnished by Wilson Law, a former Major-General in the Legion, and one of those who had fled Nauvoo following the *Expositor* affair. According to Law, the Saints possessed a total of three cannon and about 250 pieces of small arms.<sup>29</sup> Smith himself performed an important service in maintaining temporary law and order by ordering the Legion to turn over the state weapons to the Illinois Governor. Without the Prophet’s personal command, the Saints’ surrender of these arms undoubtedly would not have taken place. Moreover, Smith’s action helped temporarily to sooth the tempers of many of the more violent anti-Mormons. Of the total amount of arms believed in the possession of the Legion, the three cannon and 220 of the small arms were surrendered.<sup>30</sup> This order on the part of Joseph Smith was also the Prophet’s last official act as Lieutenant-General and Commander of the Nauvoo Legion.

Meanwhile Joseph and Hyrum Smith were placed in the Carthage jail. This structure was made of stone and was situated near a group of trees at the western boundary of the village. The jail contained an apartment for the jailer, cells for prisoners, and on the second story a small assembly room. At the suggestion of Governor Ford, the two prisoners were allowed the freedom of this latter room. They were permitted to have visitors at any time with no precautions made against the introduction of tools or weapons for their attempted escape. Ford did not believe the prisoners would make such an attempt, though he believed that any escape on the part of the Smiths could possibly have brought about the expulsion of the Mormons from Illinois. Ford contended the great ma-

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 335-37.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 336.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

majority of the people of Nauvoo would immediately have followed their leader into exile as they had done five years previously when the sect was driven from Missouri. According to Ford, then the Gentiles would have been rid of their enemies in an easy and bloodless manner.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, an escape attempt on the part of Joseph Smith could have been tantamount to suicide on his part. The mob that had gathered in and around Carthage would possibly have been delighted to have been given such an excuse to pounce upon the Prophet, and his murder would have taken place then and there.

Unknown to Governor Ford, a plan was already being laid for the prevention of such an escape attempt; namely the cold-blooded murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

By June 25 the total number of armed men in Carthage was estimated to have been 1,200 or 1,300, with 400 or 500 more under arms at Warsaw. Most of this force, technically under the Governor's command, was eager to be ordered to march on Nauvoo. The excuse given was ostensibly to search that city for a counterfeiting establishment and to overawe the Mormons with a show of force.<sup>32</sup> These excuses seemed to have been calculated to draw the Governor away from Carthage so that the assassination of Smith could be carried out. Ford did not, in all probability, realize the great danger that menaced the Smiths. If he had, under no circumstances would he have allowed himself to be enticed away from Carthage. That he did have apprehensions as to the safety of the two prisoners, though, was shown when he suggested, upon agreeing to the march to Nauvoo, that the force take the Smith brothers along. A council of officers was again called, and it convinced the Governor that this procedure would be dangerous and inexpedient, "and offered such substantial reasons for their opinions as induced me to change my resolution."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 338-39.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 339. Rumors of counterfeiting by the Mormons again had started to circulate. A Warsaw newspaper reported "Nauvoo Bogus" was in circulation in that vicinity, and that Joseph Smith was behind its issuance. *Warsaw Signal*, June 5, 1844.

<sup>33</sup> Ford, *History of Illinois*, 340.

The Governor had yet another problem on his hands. Trustworthy information had reached him that, once the militia entered the city, the latter's destruction would certainly follow. The plan, according to Ford, had been to put the city to a general massacre and sack upon a prearranged signal. The latter was to have been a shot fired by someone at the militia. Ford was determined to prevent such an outrage, not only on humane grounds—"the number of women, inoffensive and young persons, and innocent children, which must be contained in such a city of twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants,"—but on more practical grounds as well. Not sharing the confidence of his troops, he was uneasy as to the outcome of a conflict in which the Nauvoo Legion would outnumber his own forces nearly two to one.<sup>34</sup>

The Governor next made the error of relying too greatly upon his conviction that the majority of the inhabitants of Carthage, knowing his feelings toward the prisoners, would not dare make any move to harm the Smiths during his absence. All had taken an oath to prevent bloodshed, and at the last moment Ford took two final precautions. First, he ordered all troops at both Carthage and Warsaw disbanded, with the exception of three companies. Secondly, two of the remaining companies were ordered to guard the jail while the third was to accompany him to Nauvoo.<sup>35</sup> Thus Ford believed he was removing any threat to the lives of the Mormon leaders. In his choice of the guards for the Carthage jail, however, the governor laid himself wide open for all time to the charge by pro-Mormons of collaborating with the assassination of the Smith brothers. The two companies making up this jail guard were composed of the Carthage Greys under the command of Captain R. F. Smith. It was well known that the most rabidly anti-Mormon contingent of the militia was this

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 340-41. Ford's uneasiness evidently was well founded. One Mormon inhabitant of Nauvoo was quoted as saying he "would wade to his knees in blood" before surrendering the city. Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 452.

<sup>35</sup> Ford, *History of Illinois*, 342.

very group. In an endeavor to clear himself of censure, Ford stated in his memoirs:

I had confidence in their loyalty and integrity; because their captain was universally spoken of as a most respectable citizen and honorable man. . . . I relied upon this company especially, because it was an independent company, for a long time instructed and practiced in military discipline and subordination. I also had their word and [of] honor, officers and men, to do their duty according to law.<sup>36</sup>

Charged with failure to use the McDonough County militia, which was known to have been much less violent in its anti-Mormon feelings, and which had voted against the march on Nauvoo, Ford explained:

the militia of that county were very much dissatisfied to remain; their crops were suffering at home; they were in a perfect fever to be discharged; and I was destitute of provisions to supply them for more than a few days. They were far from home, where they could not supply themselves. Whilst the Carthage company could board at their own houses, and would be put to little inconvenience in comparison.<sup>37</sup>

Ford believed he had found the solutions to most of his problems and he was especially certain that the prisoners in the jail would not be harmed. He then started with his forces to Nauvoo on the morning of Thursday, June 27. After the expedition had progressed four of the eighteen miles from Carthage to Nauvoo, the Governor was informed by one of his officers that an attack upon the jail was allegedly to be carried out during his absence. The Governor, however, was unconvinced. "I myself entertained no suspicion of such an attack, . . ." he stated. "I could not believe that any person would attack the jail whilst we were in Nauvoo, and thereby expose my life and the life [sic] of my companions to the sudden vengeance of the Mormons, upon hearing of the death of their leaders." Ford, nevertheless, at once dispatched a messenger to Captain Smith of the Carthage Greys, "to guard the jail strictly, and at the peril of his life" until he returned.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 343-44.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 344.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 346.

The Governor then continued with his pointless expedition to Nauvoo. Worried over the reports he had heard, though, he decided to forego the search for a counterfeiting press. Instead he merely made an address to the Mormons. Ford pointed out the bases for the violent anti-Mormonism in the area and, amid numerous protests on the part of the Nauvoo citizens, proceeded to give them an undignified and completely unnecessary verbal spanking. Thus accomplishing nothing, the Governor decided to return to Carthage the same day, as he continued to feel some apprehension for the safety of the prisoners in the jail there. Departing Nauvoo just before sundown, Ford was met four miles from that city by two messengers who brought news of the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Ford's immediate reaction was one of disbelief, but when finally convinced, he stated: "It was perfectly astounding; and I anticipated the very worst consequences from it."<sup>39</sup>

That the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been carefully planned there was no doubt, and it was no credit to Governor Ford that the plan so easily succeeded. The Governor had had ample warning, but he had refused to believe the stories that reached his ears. Ever since the Smith brothers had been incarcerated in the Carthage jail, a stream of visitors had entered and left the building bringing news of the events taking place within the town.<sup>40</sup> Joseph Smith was also keeping busy the last forty-eight hours in the jail. He requested and received an interview with Ford on the morning of June 26. In the meeting the subject of the Prophet's safety was brought up, but dismissed by Ford as nothing to worry about.<sup>41</sup> The next morning Smith wrote Orville H. Browning (who had previously defended the Prophet in the

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 348. He also stated: "I was well convinced that those, whoever they were, who assassinated the Smiths, meditated in turn my assassination by the Mormons." *Ibid.*, 349.

<sup>40</sup> A complete, hour-by-hour account of Smith's last forty-eight hours is given in Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 592-622.

<sup>41</sup> The entire interview can be found in *ibid.*, 579-85.

Missouri extradition affair) to act again as his defense counsel.<sup>42</sup> The same day, he wrote his final letter, addressed to his wife, in which he stated:

There is one principle which is eternal: It is the duty of all men to protect their lives and the lives of their household, whenever necessity requires, and no power has a right to forbid it, should the last extreme arrive; but I anticipate no such extreme; but caution is the parent of safety.<sup>43</sup>

Smith was probably attempting to allay the fears of his family for his personal safety, as these words did not indicate his true concern for his and his brother's lives.

As one story after another reached Joseph Smith's ears concerning the temper of the Gentiles, the Prophet became more and more uneasy concerning his personal safety. On the day before the assassination, the first clue that something was in the air was given to the Prophet and his brother. At 1 P.M., Constable Bettisworth, a violent anti-Mormon (who had previously been sent to arrest Smith at Nauvoo), appeared at the jail with an order demanding the prisoners be delivered into his hands. The jailer, Stigall by name, refused to recognize the order, and by so doing probably saved the lives of the two Smith brothers at the time.<sup>44</sup> The first positive evidence that a plan was afoot to murder the Smiths appeared at 5:30 A.M., on June 27. Dan Jones, one of Smith's disciples and frequent visitors, reported to the Prophet that Frank Worrel, Officer of the Guard at the Carthage jail and one of the Carthage Greys, told him as Jones entered the jail that day:

We have had too much trouble to bring Old Joe here to let him ever escape alive, and unless you want to die with him, you had better leave before sundown; and you are not a damned bit better that [*sic*] him for taking his part, and you'll see that I can prophesy better than Old Joe, for neither he nor his brother, nor anyone who will remain with them will see the sun set today.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Inez Smith Davis, *The Story of the Church* (Independence., Mo., 1938), 216

<sup>43</sup> Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: xli.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 594.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 602.



THE LIMESTONE JAIL AT CARTHAGE

This picture, although undated, is from a lithograph made in Liverpool, England, which indicates a time soon after the death of the Smith brothers.

When Jones informed the Prophet later in the morning of the threat from Worrel, Smith immediately sent Jones to inform Governor Ford of this story before the latter left for Nauvoo. In the interview with the Governor, Jones also reported overhearing a group of non-Mormons repeating the same threat. Ford flatly refused to believe these stories and retorted: "You are unnecessarily alarmed for the safety of your friends, sir, the people are not that cruel."<sup>46</sup> Later that morning Chauncey L. Higbee, another of the former members of the *Expositor* staff, told Jones: "We are determined to kill Joe and Hyrum, and you had better go away to save yourself."<sup>47</sup> At 5 P.M. Jailer Stigall told the Smiths they would be safer in a locked cell than in the more easily accessible assembly room, and Joseph Smith said he would enter the cell after

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 603.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 604.

supper that evening.<sup>48</sup> He did not get another chance, as a few minutes later the mob stormed into the jail.

There is little doubt that the Warsaw regiment of the Illinois militia furnished the men who planned and carried out the attack upon the jail. Also, little doubt has remained that the Carthage Greys were in collusion with them. The Warsaw regiment under the command of Colonel Levi Williams had set out the morning of June 27 for the rendezvous preparatory to the march to Nauvoo, when Ford's order disbanding it was received. Immediately a considerable difference of opinion resulted among the men. A more violent portion, led by Editor T. C. Sharp of the *Warsaw Signal*, advocated marching to Carthage, but a more moderate element advised disbanding immediately in accordance with the order, and a return to Warsaw. Each party evidently followed its own inclination, and Sharp led a force of about two hundred men to Carthage.<sup>49</sup> They camped just outside the village, where a number of them disguised themselves by blacking their faces with powder and mud. Communication was established immediately with the contingent of the Carthage Greys that Governor Ford had left to guard the jail, and it was arranged that the guards would re-load their guns with blank cartridges so as to give the appearance of opposition when the jail was stormed.<sup>50</sup> With their plans thus laid, the conspirators approached the jail and, according to prearrangement, "overpowered" the guard and forced entrance into the building. The jail "guard" then either joined with the mob or dispersed. A prominent Mormon, Jacob Hamblin, said he examined the jail immediately following the assassination and found that "all the entrances to the prison yard appeared to

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 616.

<sup>49</sup> Ford, *History of Illinois*, 353. Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 304. In a letter written June 30, three days after the assassination, an Emsley Jackson of Hancock County wrote to his brother Joseph Jackson in Boone County, Ind. that 250 men took part in the attack upon the jail. From a letter courtesy Dr. O. O. Winther, Bloomington, Ind.

<sup>50</sup> Ford, *History of Illinois*, 354.

me to have been prepared beforehand for the easy admittance of the mob."<sup>51</sup>

Accounts of the actual assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith differ, but variances for the most part are minor. Perhaps the best and most reliable accounts are those given by Willard Richards and John Taylor, both ardent disciples of the Mormon Prophet. These two men were visiting Smith at the time the jail was stormed.<sup>52</sup>

Richards, Taylor, and the Smith brothers were sitting in shirt sleeves in their room when Richards glanced out the window and spied the men, with blackened faces, advancing toward the jail. The door to the room was immediately closed and Hyrum Smith and Richards placed their shoulders against it, as the door unaccountably was without a lock. Finding their entrance barred, the assailants fired a shot through the door, which forced Hyrum Smith and Richards to leap back. While Hyrum was retreating, but still facing the door, a second shot was fired which struck him in the face, and, at the same time, another ball, fired through the window (possibly a ricochet), entered his back. He fell immediately exclaiming "I am a dead man," and expired.

When Joseph saw his brother fall he advanced to the door with a six-shot pistol left by a previous caller. He opened the door a few inches and fired. The first three barrels misfired, but the last three were reported to have each wounded a man—the extent of which was never fully ascertained. While Joseph was firing Taylor stood next to him and parried the assailants' guns when they were thrust into the room. The attackers hesitated for a few moments, perhaps not knowing how fully armed the prisoners were. At that moment Taylor decided to risk jumping from the second floor window, but

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<sup>51</sup> James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin* (Salt Lake City, 1881), 20.

<sup>52</sup> The account of Willard Richards can be found in Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 617-21. Other accounts are given in Ford, *History of Illinois*, 354; *Sangamo Journal*, July 11, 1844; *Quincy Whig*, July 3, 1844; *Warsaw Signal*, June 29, 1844. The description given here is from Taylor's account.

was not able to accomplish his purpose. As he reached the window the mob again fired through the door, and Taylor was hit in the leg. The attackers continued to fire through the now partially opened door, and Taylor, attempting to crawl to safety in the corner of the room was struck three more times, in the knee, arm, and hip.<sup>53</sup> At the moment Taylor fell, Joseph Smith leaped for the open window, and as he was part way out, two balls entered his chest. He fell outward, exclaiming "Oh Lord, my God."<sup>54</sup> Upon perceiving the Prophet's leap from the window, the mob ran outside. Smith's body was propped up against a wall by the conspirators and "they despatched him with four balls shot through his body."<sup>55</sup> Evidently satisfying themselves that the Smiths were dead, the mob dispersed, and did not wreak their vengeance further upon the wounded Taylor or Richards. The latter survived the ordeal untouched except for a slight nick on the left ear, although his large size had made him a more than ample target.<sup>56</sup>

After the object of the attack upon the jail had been accomplished, it was reported:

The cannon fired at Carthage told the people over in Missouri and down at Warsaw that the objective had been attained. The echo came from

<sup>53</sup> Another report indicated Taylor "received three balls in his leg, and one in his arm." *Quincy Herald*, June 27, 1844. That Taylor's wounds were not too serious was shown when it was reported two weeks later that he "was recovering as fast as can be expected. His wounds do very well." *Nauvoo Neighbor*, July 10, 1844. This issue of the newspaper also carries a graphic description of the assassination of the Smiths.

<sup>54</sup> Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 618. According to the very biased version of an anti-Mormon writer, Smith's last words were: "My Lord, My God, have mercy upon us, if there is any God." N. W. Green, *Mormonism; Its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition* . . . (Hartford, Conn., 1870), 36.

<sup>55</sup> Ford, *History of Illinois*, 354. This fact has never been proved, but more than one account confirms Ford's view. Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 306; *Warsaw Signal*, June 29, 1844. Richards, however, did not mention this fact in connection with his account. Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 618-19. The official Mormon account states that Smith "was shot in the right breast, also under the heart, in the lower part of his bowels and the right side, and on the back part of the right hip." *Ibid.*, 627. Another author has added a story that as Smith lay dead at the wall "a ruffian with a long knife advanced toward him with the intention of severing his head from his body." At that moment "a powerful light struck down from heaven and the arm bearing the knife dropped powerless at the ruffian's side." Harry M. Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire* (Boston and New York, 1931), 367.

<sup>56</sup> Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 306.

Warsaw—a paean of congratulation—and presently from across the river in Missouri came the faint peal of bells; not tolling bells, but clamorous peals of rejoicing!<sup>57</sup>

The bodies of the Smith brothers were removed first to a Carthage hotel, and from there to Nauvoo the following day. The procession was met by almost the entire population of Nauvoo, who seemed to have been completely stunned by the assassination of their leaders. The burial services took place a few days later, but the Mormons feared a grave robbery, so the coffins were filled with sand<sup>58</sup> and the actual bodies were buried beneath the unfinished Temple.<sup>59</sup> The Saints were afraid that even that hiding place would be insufficient, so the bodies were later transferred several times—and now rest at the Joseph Smith Homestead on the Mississippi.

Public opinion concerning the murder of the Smiths did not coincide with the previous general attitudes toward the Mormon Prophet and his followers. Governor Ford stated in a proclamation, published in contemporary newspapers, that “the Mormons had done all that was required or which ought to have been required of them,” and called the murder a “disgrace.”<sup>60</sup> One publication termed the assassination one of “the most disgraceful and cold blooded murders ever committed in a Christian land,”<sup>61</sup> while another commented:

It will probably never be known who shot Joseph and Hiram [sic] Smith—but their murder was a cold-blooded cowardly act, which will consign the perpetrators if discovered to merited infamy and disgrace—They [the murderers] have broken their pledges to the Governor—disgraced themselves and the State to which they belong. They have crimsoned their perfidity with blood.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Beardsley, *Joseph Smith*, 368.

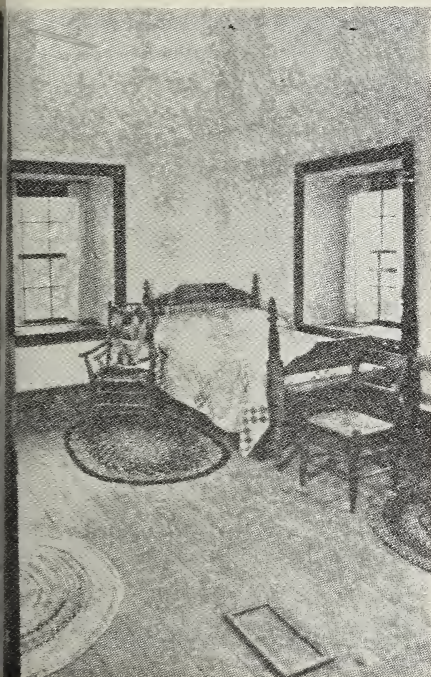
<sup>58</sup> This deception was evidently successful. A local newspaper stated that the Smiths were buried “with military honors.” *Warsaw Signal*, June 29, 1844.

<sup>59</sup> Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York, 1873), 174n. For a complete account of the preparation of the bodies, sermons, burials, etc. see Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 627-29. One historian has stated that an attempted grave robbery actually did take place the following evening. Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 307.

<sup>60</sup> *Quincy Herald*, July 5, 1844.

<sup>61</sup> *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), July 5, 1844.

<sup>62</sup> *Quincy Herald*, June 27, 1844.



ROOM IN CARTHAGE JAIL where Joseph and Hyrum Smith were attacked. Joseph fell from the window at the left.



THE ANTI-MORMON MOB stormed up this stairway seeking the Smith brothers who were in a room to the left of this picture.

In October, 1844, indictments were returned against a number of men accused of the murder, and their trial convened the following May.<sup>63</sup> An acquittal of the accused was a foregone conclusion. The jail guards could not (or would not) identify anyone, and witnesses refused to testify or gave contradictory evidence. No one was neutral, and no truly unbiased jury could possibly have been selected. But the Prophet, according to the Mormons, was avenged by "divine judgment."<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 308. The trial was also described in the *Sangamo Journal*, June 5, 1845.

<sup>64</sup> One Mormon author claimed that the arm of one of those who had been shot by Smith's firing into the hallway "continued to rot till it was amputated." A Missourian in the mob died four years later and at his death was described as "eaten

Thus, Governor Ford, through gross mishandling of the entire affair, helped immeasurably to bring upon western Illinois a cold-blooded and totally unnecessary murder. This was followed in a few weeks by the outbreak of an all-out "Mormon War" which has been called by one historian "an era of the most disgraceful outrages . . . between the Mormons and their opponents east of the Rocky Mountains."<sup>65</sup>

That Governor Ford helped to create these unfortunate episodes in Hancock County cannot be doubted. Described as "a weak, vacillating man, not beginning to be able intellectually to cope" with the Mormon situation,<sup>66</sup> Ford has attempted in his *History of Illinois* (in reality the memoirs of his administration), to vindicate himself of charges of blundering in handling the situation. Despite his apologies, it is difficult to reconcile his lack of foresight in selecting the Carthage Greys as jail guards, or to explain his lack of use of the more moderate McDonough County militia. Equally difficult to explain was Ford's inability to foresee the plot against the Smith brothers, and to permit himself to be drawn away from Carthage on the pointless excursion to Nauvoo. His inability to make decisions, and especially his vacillating nature, caused him to lose respect among Mormons as well as non-Mormons. This lack of ability was made up in part by the fine work of his able assistants, General John J. Hardin and Major W. B. Warren. It was indeed unfortunate that fate did not decree that these men should remain in Hancock County to maintain the peace. Their departure from the county in the summer of 1846 to join in the campaign against Mexico removed the moderating influence that had kept the hostile factions under

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with worms, a large black-headed kind of maggot." Another member of the mob who had been wounded by Smith's shots supposedly suffered the fate of having his "face and jaw rotted so half of his face actually fell off." Parley Parker Pratt, Jr., ed., *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (New York, 1874), 475-76. Frank Worrel, who had made the prediction that the Smiths would die and who had obviously been in collusion with the mob, was himself mysteriously shot and killed after storming the jail. Ford, *History of Illinois*, 409.

<sup>65</sup> Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 335-36.

<sup>66</sup> Orville F. Berry, "The Mormon Settlement in Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1906 (Springfield, 1906), 98

control during the months following the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. With the absence of Hardin and Warren, and with Ford's inability to replace them with men of equal caliber, a "Mormon War," not unlike that which had characterized the Saints' last months in Missouri, broke out. The hostilities in Illinois, were, however, destined to be overshadowed in American history by the beginning of the war with Mexico and the settlement of the Oregon question, since all occurred at the same time.

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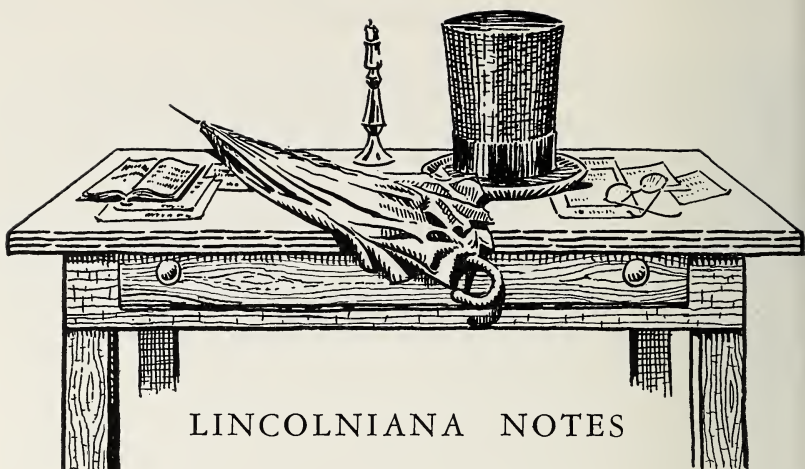
#### "REPRESENTATION OF THE MURDER"

The drawing on the front cover of this *Journal* is from a pamphlet published at Nauvoo in 1845 and titled "A Correct Account of the Murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith, at Carthage, on the 27th of June, 1844; by Wm. M. Daniels, an eye-witness." The drawing itself is captioned, "Representation of the Murder," and the original text continues: "EXPLANATION—Fig. 1, the Carthage Greys. Fig. 2, Col. Williams. Fig. 3, the four ruffians who shot Gen. Joseph Smith. Fig. 4, the well-curb. Fig. 5, the flash of light. Fig. 6, Elder Richards at the window of the

jail from which Gen. Smith fell. Fig. 7, Gen. Smith, after he was shot. Fig. 8, the ruffian who was about to sever his head from his body. Fig. 9, the door leading into the entry, through which the murderers entered. Fig. 10, Capt. Smith. Fig. 11, the mob."

"Col. Williams" was Colonel Levi Williams of Warsaw, and "Capt. Smith" was Captain Robert F. Smith, commander of the Carthage Greys.

This picture was probably printed originally from a woodcut. The numbers can still be deciphered but they were barely legible in the original.



## LINCOLNIANA NOTES

### LINCOLN'S CARRIAGE MAKER

The Illinois State Historical Library recently acquired, through the courtesy of Lewis Herndon of Springfield, the ledger of Obed Lewis, pioneer Springfield carriage maker, 1839-1868. The accounts in the ledger represent the activities of two firms, (Henry) Vanhoff and (Obed) Lewis, 1849-1854, and Obed Lewis, 1854-1869. At the back of the ledger are the records of a carriage and buggy rental agency, covering the period 1869-1892.

Obed Lewis was born April 25, 1812 in Pennsylvania and came to Springfield in 1838. He married Cordelia M. Iles in 1851, and was a prominent business and civic leader in Springfield. He served as an alderman, 1862-1864 and 1868-1873, and was elected mayor of Springfield in 1874 for a one-year term.

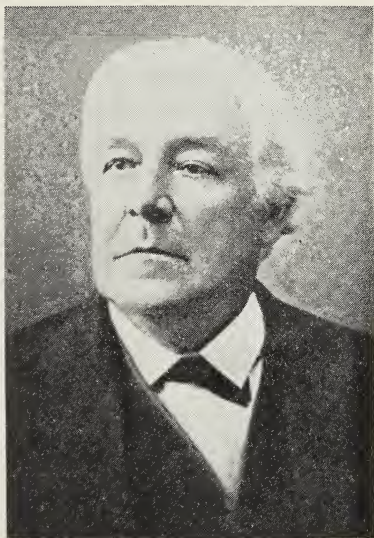
Lewis was patronized by many of Springfield's most distinguished citizens, including Abraham Lincoln. James T. Hickey of Elkhart, Illinois, a former director of the Illinois State Historical Society, has several companion books to the Historical Library ledger. His holdings include a ledger,

1843-1847; a journal, 1854-1859; and a cash book. By putting these ledgers and journals together, a good picture of Lincoln's transactions at Obed Lewis' carriage shop may be seen. (Another Lewis daybook owned by Hickey covers the period 1839-July, 1843—but it contains no Lincoln entries.)

The earliest entry in the series of Lincoln's accounts is dated September 2, 1843, "To setting buggy tire and repairing bottom," at a cost of \$1.25. The last entry is for January 12, 1860, when Lincoln settled his account of \$27.50 with a cash payment of \$18.25 and a buggy valued at \$9.25. If this is the buggy he purchased for \$85 on June 30, 1852, it seems he had a favorable "trade in" price from Lewis.

Lincoln's major purchases were a carriage on June 22, 1852 for \$260, the buggy on June 30 for \$85, and a sleigh, February 4, 1854, for \$30. He paid all his accounts (not always promptly) by cash, except for the final transaction of January 12, 1860, mentioned above.

Obed Lewis, in the years 1852-1855, sold 61 buggies, 50 carriages, 9 rockaways, 1 hack, 1 milkwagon, 1 omnibus, and 117 wagons. The average price received for a buggy was \$156, for a carriage \$213 and for a wagon \$90. In 1852, the average price for a carriage was \$231; Lincoln paid \$260. In the same year, the average price of a buggy was \$138; Lincoln paid \$85. It seems that Lincoln had a better-than-average carriage, but owned a very cheap buggy. Lewis sold one buggy for \$85 but carefully noted that it was "used." It is known that Lincoln was driving a buggy in 1843; perhaps he made



OBED LEWIS

a miraculous trade with Lewis—an old buggy and \$85 for a new one (were buggy dealers more generous than their modern counterparts, the used car dealers?).

Settlement of the Lincoln account in these books on January 12, 1860 does not indicate what became of Lincoln's carriage. Dr. Harry E. Pratt's *Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln* shows a check from Lincoln to Lewis for \$75 on June 8, 1860. An account book in the New York Historical Society (Brewster & Co., carriage makers) has an entry dated February 18, 1861 for a coach which cost \$1,400. This may be the one in the Chicago Historical Society Museum. The coach used on the night of Lincoln's assassination had been a gift of a number of New Yorkers.

As a matter of interest, here is a composite of Lincoln's account with Lewis, 1852-1860:

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1852

June	22	To Carriage	260.00	June 25	By Cash	\$250.00
	29	Repairing	2.00	July 12	Cash	10.00
	30	Buggy	85.00	Oct. 2	Cash	94.00
Sept.	1	Repairing	7.25			
			<hr/>			
			354.25			\$354.00

1853

Mar.	3	Wheelbarrow	7.00			
June	18	Repairing	3.00			
July	28	"	2.00			
	30	"	5.00			
Aug.	17	Pole	10.00			
	28	Repairing	1.00			
Sept.	5	Band	.50	1854		
	13	Repairing	2.00	Jan. 6	By Cash	30.50
			<hr/>			
			30.50			

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1854

Feb. 4	To Sleigh	30.00
March 16	To Back Pannel	11.00
June 27	To Shaft & Repairing	1.75

1855			1855		
Feb. 19	Repairing Barrow	1.00	Mr. 5	By Cash	43.75
		<hr/> 43.75			
April 28	New shaft, Singletree & Bar, repairing body, shaft iron, seat, setting 4 tires	7.00	1856		
May 26	New shaft	1.50	Mr. 29	By Cash	8.50
		<hr/> 8.50			
1856					
July 7	Repairing Irons	.25			
Sept. 2	Shaft bar 2 bolts	1.75			
1857			1858		
April 1	Buggy front, singletree 2 bolts	3.50	Feb. 24	By Cash	8.50
Aug. 15	Spring bar bolt setting axel	3.00			
		<hr/> 8.50			
1858					
Oct. 22	Doubletree Repairing stays & bolt	1.75			
1859			1860		
May 21	Setting Axel		Jany 12	Cash	18.25
	Repairing doors	2.00		Old buggy	9.25
June 18	Setting 4 tires, 2 bolts				
	mending doors & Perch plate	4.25			
June 25	Painting carriage				
	New silk curtains				
	2 glass hook & oiling top	19.50			
		<hr/> 27.50			<hr/> 27.50

Perhaps one of the *Journal's* readers can tell what happened to the Lincoln "rolling stock" after the new President left Springfield for Washington. C.C.W.

## JOSEPH KIRKLAND WRITES LINCOLN FOR A JOB

Joseph Kirkland, Chicago lawyer and literary man, is best known for his pioneer realistic novels, written late in life, about Illinois: *Zury: the Meanest Man in Spring County* (1887), *The McVeys* (1888), and *The Captain of Company K* (1891).<sup>1</sup> But just before the Civil War, when he was a thirty-year-old coal mine manager in Danville, Kirkland briefly entertained an interesting political ambition—to be Abraham Lincoln's secretary. Writing to the President-elect with exemplary legibility, Kirkland kept his application brief, but dropped impressive names:

DANVILLE ILL. JAN. 6, 1861.

HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

DEAR SIR.

The post of private secretary seems to be one requiring a rather uncommon combination of literary and business talent. If you have not already selected yours I should like to know it and to add *one* to the number among whom you can take your pick. My own acquaintance with you is not such as would probably recall me to your mind, being confined to the evening you spent at my house in company with Col. Foster, the English Lord Grosvenor, and others, but I have many friends among the Editorial fraternity in New York and Chicago (Mr. Bryant, especially) and also many business friends whom you know, and from them I will get letters if you encourage me to do so.

YOURS VERY RESPECTFULLY

JOSEPH KIRKLAND<sup>2</sup>

The allusion to Lord Grosvenor referred to an evening in Danville when Lincoln was riding the old Eighth Judicial

<sup>1</sup> Clyde E. Henson, "Joseph Kirkland's Novels," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XLIV (Summer, 1951), 142-46; and Claton A. Holaday, "Joseph Kirkland's Company K," *ibid.*, Vol. XLIX (Autumn, 1956), 295-307.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is in the Library of Congress and is quoted here with the permission of the heirs.

Circuit.<sup>3</sup> The connection with Bryant—William Cullen Bryant, poet, long-time editor of the *New York Evening Post*, and an influential Republican—was well worth exploiting, and derived from Kirkland's New York youth, where, through his literary mother, he had known many authors and editors.<sup>4</sup>

But Kirkland had written to Lincoln too late—and had at best an outside track for the job he wanted. Apparently he was unaware that soon after the Republican convention in Chicago in May, 1860, Lincoln had appointed as his secretary the twenty-eight-year-old John G. Nicolay, a first-class clerk whom he had known in the Statehouse in Springfield. Indeed, after the November election Nicolay had *his* secretary in the young John Hay, whose uncle's law office opened into Lincoln's own.

Possibly Kirkland's try for the post did not even reach Lincoln, or was not acknowledged by him, for the busy Nicolay reported about this time that he was too swamped with office-seekers' letters to answer any of them.<sup>5</sup> In any case, Kirkland got a different government job several months later when, ten days after Lincoln's first call for volunteers on April 15, 1861, he enlisted in the Twelfth Illinois Infantry.<sup>6</sup>

Chicago

JAMES B. STRONKS

## WHEN LINCOLN SPOKE AT EXETER

The reminiscences of "old-timers" sometimes distort or exaggerate an event long past. But often they add another facet and give added brilliance. The following account of Lincoln's speech at Exeter, New Hampshire, on March 3, 1860, is taken from an unidentified, undated newspaper clip-

<sup>3</sup> The evening was later described by Kirkland in a reminiscence, "Mr. Lincoln," *The Prairie Chicken*, Vol. I (July 1, 1865), [4].

<sup>4</sup> John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), III: 257-58.

<sup>5</sup> Helen Nicolay, *Lincoln's Secretary* (New York, 1949), 48.

<sup>6</sup> In his reminiscence, "Mr. Lincoln," Kirkland said that later when he was soldiering in and about Washington, he called on Nicolay and Hay in the White House and that the hilarity of the three young Illinoisans attracted the war-harried Lincoln to their room in the hope of finding some fun.

ping. The date, however, must be around 1927, for the author, Warren James Prescott of Hampton, New Hampshire, says that he was a boy of eighteen when he heard Lincoln speak. At the time of this interview he was eighty-five.

Lincoln had delivered his speech at Cooper Union in New York City on February 27. Then he left to visit his son Robert who was attending Phillips Exeter Academy. While in New England he spoke at many other places, finishing off with an address at Bridgeport on March 10. In fact this jaunt into New England may well have been the deciding factor in his subsequent nomination and election to the presidency. Prescott's reminiscences follow:

I was a boy 18 years old living with my father on the Drinkwater road, Hampton Falls, when Lincoln spoke in Exeter. The daily papers did not circulate much in the country in those days and there was no radio, and I never had heard of Lincoln. There was a young fellow from Chelsea, named Robert Atkins, living with us at that time, who had read more and seen more of the world than I had and who was well informed on current topics.

Spring came on early that year and by the first of March frost was coming out of the ground and the roads were something terrible. Some of the neighbors had managed to get to Exeter and when they came home they told father that Abraham Lincoln was to speak in the town hall that night. Father was all excited and said:

"I am going if the old mare can get me there."

Father then arranged to take a neighbor with him, Mr. Levi A. Lane. I wanted to go, but father said that the old mare could never haul three in such going.

I was much disappointed, and talked the matter over with Atkins. He said:

"I will stump you to walk up there with me."

"We never could get there in the world," I replied. "You don't know the road. The mud is up to the hubs; we might fall into a honey-pot and never get out."

"We can get there somehow," he insisted.

So along about dusk we started. I had on a pair of new, long-legged calfskin boots which were too tight and hurt my feet terribly. I never saw such deep mud. More than once I reproached myself for having started on such a fool's errand.

There was a crowd around the hall as we drew near, and the band was playing. Robert and I pushed through the crowd and got into the hall. It was full. We marched up the main aisle to the very front, where there was a settee with a fat woman at the end. She moved over a little and I perched on the rail at the end of the settee and thought what a darned fool I had been to take such a walk. My feet ached like time.

The hour for the meeting came, and the dignitaries of the town marched in and took their seats on the rostrum. Mr. Lincoln came last, and took his seat in a chair at the end of a little table on which was a pitcher and a glass of water. How did he look? He was about the homeliest man I ever saw, tall and awkward, with enormous feet and hands. He sat all hunched up, legs crossed, and honestly I think his foot was as long as the end of the little table on the platform. He had no beard at this time.

There was another speaker, whose name I have forgotten, and finally Lincoln was introduced. When he began to speak I said to myself: "For heaven's sake, have I come four miles to hear this fellow? I wish I was at home." But before he had been speaking ten minutes that feeling left me and I wouldn't have been anywhere else but in that hall for a farm. The speech was a mingling of argument and anecdote. Every few minutes he would tell a funny story which would convulse his audience, but I noticed that every story had a point. His way of telling a story was very droll. When he had finished he would stop a minute and elevate his eyebrows in the most comical way. I could have sat and listened all night. When Lincoln concluded, the cheers nearly raised the roof. I always have been glad that I trudged through the mud that March night in 1860; the memory of that meeting has been one of the high spots of my life.

Such were an old man's recollections of a boyhood experience. No adequate report of this speech which brought "cheers that nearly raised the roof" has been located. The meeting had been on Saturday night and Lincoln remained over Sunday visiting Robert. On Sunday he wrote the following to Mrs. Lincoln:

I have been unable to escape this toil. If I had foreseen it, I think I would not have come east at all. The speech at New York, being within my calculation before I started, went off passably well and gave me no trouble whatever. The difficulty was to make nine others, before reading audiences who had already seen all my ideas in print.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Roy P. Basler, Marion Dolores Pratt, Lloyd A. Dunlap, eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), III: 555.

Albert Blair, Phillips Exeter Academy, class of 1860, also reminisces on Lincoln's visit to Exeter. His recollections are published in the *Bulletin of The Phillips Exeter Academy* for July, 1920. Here are a few paragraphs of his account of Lincoln's visit with his son and also an interesting observation of the way Robert received the news of his father's nomination in May:

Mr. Lincoln remained over Sunday visiting his son Robert. Sunday evening some of Robert's friends called at his room and met Mr. Lincoln. Among them was my friend Henry Cluskey. Recently, Mr. Cluskey related to me an incident that occurred that evening which will illustrate how readily Mr. Lincoln could enter into the sports of younger men. Cluskey had a banjo, and often entertained his school fellows with such tuneful strummings and pickings as he was able to perform upon that instrument. That evening Robert said to his father, "Cluskey plays the banjo." "Does he?" said Mr. Lincoln. "Where is the banjo?" "It is at my room." "Can't you get it?" "Oh, I don't think you would care for it, Mr. Lincoln." "Oh, yes." So Cluskey at the instance of Mr. Lincoln went to his room some four or five blocks distant, got his banjo, returned, and gave Mr. Lincoln an exhibition of his talent in that line of entertainment. Mr. Lincoln, still sympathetic in his manner, said: "Robert, you ought to have one." The incident shows how ready Mr. Lincoln was to join young people in legitimate sport.

In the following May, the Republican National Convention was held in Chicago. I was keen to learn the progress and results. On the afternoon of the third day of the convention, I was at the railroad station when the Boston and Maine train brought Boston papers.

The *Boston Journal* announced in large letters, "Abraham Lincoln Nominated." I hurried down the street with the news. Near the Academy was a bowling-alley, to which Robert often resorted, and on entering I saw him engaged in the sport. I held up the paper and called, "Bob, your father has got it." He clapped his hand on his hip and said: "Good! I will write home for a check before he spends all his money in the campaign."

## LINCOLN HERITAGE GROUP ORGANIZES

A new Lincoln association has been formed—the Abraham Lincoln Heritage. It has been organized, to quote the group's preamble, "for the purpose of encouraging the study

and discussion of the Abraham Lincoln theme, to further the research into the life and works of the Great Emancipator to the end that myths and legends may be dispelled, to co-operate with all ceremonies celebrating the centennial anniversary of Abraham Lincoln and his historic works and utterances."

Governor William G. Stratton is honorary president of the group. Other officers include: Colonel William Herzog, president; Robert L. Huttner, first vice-president; Dr. Nicholas J. Capos, second vice-president; Captain Kenneth A. Plummer, secretary; and Arnold H. Schildknecht, treasurer.

### "THE RIVALRY" PRESENTED IN FREEPORT

Freeport, Illinois, scene of the second Lincoln-Douglas debate on August 27, 1858, inaugurated its celebration of the centennial of that event with a showing on November 6 of "The Rivalry" a new play by Norman Corwin. The play was on a tryout tour which began on the West Coast and was to precede its New York premiere.

Abraham Lincoln was played by Raymond Massey, who previously had won fame for his interpretation of the title role of "Abe Lincoln in Illinois." The other two members of the cast were Martin Gabel as Stephen A. Douglas and Agnes Moorehead as Mrs. Adele Douglas. The action, in two parts and an epilogue, takes place in the debates towns and in Washington, D. C.

Norman Corwin, the author, was also director of the play and Paul Gregory was the producer. Corwin is well known as a radio and film writer and is the author of half a dozen books. His two earlier efforts in the field of Lincolniana were the films "Ann Rutledge" and "The Lonesome Train."

Writing of "The Rivalry" Carl Sandburg says: "Here we have from the hand of Norman Corwin, a presentation of the tangled weave of the awesome rivalry between those dramatically contrasted figures, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Arnold

Douglas. Corwin has studied and brooded for many years over these figures of fate. The words he puts in the mouths of his two main characters are almost entirely those of the record in source documents, much of it in newspaper columns of the time. The use of Adele Cutts Douglas as interlocutor, as a link and a light between events, gives good contrast of color, and sketches for us a woman in true life highly personable and lovely. . . . Corwin . . . knows the color of the American Dream. We have in his pages a wholesome fare, good food for the elders, and more especially for the youth of America."

At its Freeport showing "The Rivalry" was enthusiastically received. The event was sponsored by the Lincoln-Douglas Society which will be in charge of the city's centennial observance.

### NEWEST LINCOLN MARKER

Illinois' newest Lincoln marker was unveiled at the site of Abraham Lincoln's first home in Illinois on Sunday, November 10. This location, now known as "Lincoln Trail Homestead State Park," is about three miles south of Route 36, ten miles west of Decatur.

The marker, a huge red boulder with its bronze plaque, is on the approximate site of the Lincoln family's log cabin. Following is the inscription on the bronze:

#### FIRST HOME OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN ILLINOIS

In March, 1830 Abraham Lincoln came from Indiana with his family to settle here in Macon County at a place on the north side of the Sangamon River ten miles westerly from Decatur. The Lincolns built a log cabin and broke the sod to raise a crop of corn. On this site the family endured the famous terrible winter of deep snow until March of 1831 when Abraham left to take a flatboat down the Mississippi and Thomas Lincoln moved to Coles County.

Otto R. Kyle, editor of the *Decatur Herald and Review*



### LINCOLN TRAIL HOMESTEAD STATE PARK

and author of the recent book, *Abraham Lincoln in Decatur* (see page 426) was the dedicatory speaker. The marker was unveiled by Mrs. Robert Dickenson, president of the Women's Council of Decatur, and E. Wayne Schroeder, son of Mrs. Edward A. Schroeder, former president of the Council, who began the work for the development of the park.

### MARKER DEDICATED AT ALBION

A memorial to Abraham Lincoln's visit to Albion in 1840 was dedicated on October 27, 1957. The ceremonies, under the auspices of the Edwards County Historical Society, were held in Edwards Senior High School, Albion, and on the school campus, which overlooks Pickering Grove, directly

north across State Route 15, where Lincoln spoke at a political rally in 1840. (Harry E. Pratt, *Lincoln 1840-1846*, gives the date as October 20.)

Preliminary services at the high school included a half-hour concert by the high school band under the direction of Robert Wallace, the invocation by the Rev. Harold R. Dean, pastor of the West Village Christian Church, two numbers by the West Salem Men's Chorus, and an address by State's Attorney Bruce Saxe. The latter told of Lincoln's visit to Edwards and surrounding counties as part of his electioneering campaign for William Henry Harrison.

The audience then adjourned to the senior high campus for the final portion of the program. The marker is placed on a brick and concrete memorial which was erected by local residents to hold the Illinois State Historical Society's cast aluminum tablet, on which is the following inscription:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN SPOKE IN THE OAK GROVE OF GENERAL WILLIAM PICKERING NORTH OF HERE IN THE PRESEDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1840.

HE WAS STUMPING SOUTHERN ILLINOIS AS A WHIG ELECTOR FOR GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON IN THE TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO CAMPAIGN.

IN 1861 LINCOLN APPOINTED PICKERING GOVERNOR OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

The unveiling and dedicatory address were by Wasson W. Lawrence, a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, who spoke for State Historian Clyde C. Walton, who was ill.

Following the benediction by the Rev. Raymond Clodfelter, pastor of the Albion Methodist Church, many of those present attended open house at the Edwards County Historical Society's Museum in the house which was the birthplace of former Governor Louis L. Emmerson.



*Lincoln's Emotional Life.* By Milton H. Shutes. (Dorrance & Company: Philadelphia, 1957. Pp. vi, 222. \$3.00.)

Had Billy Herndon lived in the days after Sigmund Freud, what a time he would have had! As it was he practiced a mid-nineteenth century variety of psychoanalysis, and forever after cluttered up the Lincoln record with the strange data and strange interpretations which he piled up about the figure of his law partner. And after Herndon—sometimes so closely after that they step in the same tracks—have come through the years biographers, artists, poets, self-ordained prophets, anthropologists, spiritualists, and a host of just plain psychologists attempting to explain the complex psychology of the man from the Sangamon. There are, so far as this reviewer knows, but two things lacking: a “character” analysis of Lincoln’s handwriting by a graphologist, and a volume entitled, “Lincoln and the Stars,” written by an astrologer. A palmist, of course, could do something with Volk’s hands if they hadn’t been clutching a broom handle!

In the midst of all this idiocy, it is a relief to find someone of competence who will undertake a sane, and medically sound, survey of Lincoln’s emotions. Dr. Shutes, who has examined Lincoln’s health in an earlier volume, undertakes a careful study and analysis of Lincoln’s life and emotional reactions. “Psychoneurotic,” pronounces Dr. Shutes, and then hastens to say that Lincoln had only a “tendency” toward emotional disturbances. The tendency was carefully kept in check by a sense of humor, physical activity, self-discipline, and ordinary common sense. But there was nothing abnormal about Lincoln. If his emotions were confused at the approach of marriage, marriage cured him. If he suffered from hypochondria, his own recognition of his condition was a healing factor. He was, says Dr. Shutes, “a depressive

type of psychoneurotic," but at no time did he pass beyond the "bounds of so-called normality."

As a healthy corrective for the many unhealthy analyses which have been made of Abraham Lincoln, Dr. Shutes' book is highly welcome.

*University of Wisconsin*

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

*Abraham Lincoln in Decatur.* By Otto R. Kyle. (Vantage Press: New York, 1957. Pp. 176. \$3.00.)

It was a happy coincidence that this book should have appeared at the same time the memorial at the site of the first Illinois home of Abraham Lincoln, near Decatur, was completed. Each enhanced the appeal of the other; and together they remedy the neglect of a significant portion of Lincoln's career.

The sufficient justification of this addition to Lincoln literature is that here, for the first time, in convenient and readable form, is all that has appeared hitherto on the subject, in widely dispersed journals, magazines, and newspapers; along with numerous details not before published, or never so critically presented. Here is all that is likely ever to be known about Lincoln's associations with Macon County and Decatur.

Abraham Lincoln spent his first year in Illinois at the home on the Sangamon River near Decatur. He made his first recorded political speech in Decatur. There he met Denton Offutt, Stephen A. Douglas, and Richard J. Oglesby, all of whom were significant in his later career. From 1838 to 1840, and later from 1850 to 1859, he was in and out of Decatur on court business. In 1840 and 1844 he was active in the vicinity as presidential elector and campaigner. In 1856 he attended, but with what influence can not be ascertained, the meeting of editors in Decatur, out of which came the movement that eventuated in the formation of the Republican Party in Illinois; and in that year he campaigned there for Frémont. He closed his own campaign for the Senate of the United States with a speech in Decatur, on November 1. A Decatur editor's letter to Lincoln may have initiated the debates with Douglas.

It was in Decatur that Lincoln first was endorsed for the presidency, in the state convention of the newly-formed party; and in that convention he first was dubbed "rail splitter." On February 11, 1861, he passed through Decatur on his way to Washington, and moved among the persons crowded at the station. Thereafter Decatur and Macon County saw him no more; but various local personages, such as John and Dennis Hanks, and Richard J. Oglesby, maintained the connection by visiting him in Washington.

What the records permit us to know about each of those episodes is

in this book, with "legends" carefully separated from verity. The author draws few or no inferences, but provides the factual basis for the reader. The frequent use of "probably," "likely," "undoubtedly," and "possibly," especially in earlier pages, makes one aware of the distressing meagerness of the records of this portion of Lincoln's life, and of the strong temptation to try to amplify them. The unexplained disappearance of all Decatur newspapers of 1858 and 1860 makes the writer's problem acute. Without them, no account ever can be wholly satisfying.

We are indebted to the author for a most careful and thorough treatment of Lincoln's relationship to the first Macon County courthouse; for revision of existing accounts of his first political speech in Decatur in 1830; and for the history of the original log cabin on the Sangamon. Of those three moot matters the discussion is as nearly conclusive as it likely is ever to be. Though the author seems to overlook the force of the conditional statement in the second sentence of Governor Oglesby's letter to John Hanks, Jr., May 20, 1865, what follows puts to rest a reader's reservations.

Excursions from matters immediately at hand occur in the chapters on the editors' convention of February 22, 1856, and on the political movements of 1856 and 1858. The enlarged treatments help, however, to enrich the meaning of the Decatur episodes embedded therein. More about the Barnwell photograph reproduced as the frontispiece would have been appreciated; and about the one surviving letter written by Lincoln, bearing a Decatur postmark. With such slight exceptions the coverage of Lincoln's associations with Macon County and Decatur is comprehensive and conclusive.

There are a very useful bibliography and footnotes, as well as several appended documents, and a drawing locating "Lincoln Sites in Decatur."

*Millikin University*

DANIEL J. GAGE

*Chicago Giant. A Biography of "Long John" Wentworth.* By Don E. Fehrenbacher. (American History Research Center: Madison, Wisconsin, 1957. Pp. 278. \$7.50.)

"Long John" Wentworth was as fabulous a character as ever lived in the fabulous city of Chicago. Arriving in 1836, even before Chicago had received its charter as a city, "Long John" remained domiciled there until his death more than half a century later, in 1888. Every man, woman and child was continuously aware of the existence of this tremendously tall, tremendously vital man, who served his community, and even more himself, as editor, businessman, property owner, farmer, congressman, mayor, political boss, genealogist, antiquarian, and historian. Restless, ambitious, vocal, filled with hates, prejudices, humor, food, and liquor, he was someone to be reckoned

with all the time. Almost seventy years have elapsed since his death and, while far from forgotten, he is not remembered as well as he should be by dint of his personality, rather than his accomplishments.

This carefully written, fully documented book by Don E. Fehrenbacher only partially fulfills the need for a first-rate biography of "Long John;" and this is a pity. For in the final chapter on "The Old-Timer" and in passages throughout the book, the author shows that he could have done the sort of verbal portrait that would have made this amazing man—an original—live. Fehrenbacher mistakenly believes that it is the *facts* that we want to know about Wentworth. He mourns the loss of Wentworth's private papers and much of the other documentation in the Chicago Fire, and makes amends for the loss by delving heroically into the innumerable collections and other sources listed in a Bibliographical Note and spelled out in detail in thirty pages of references. What is needed really is not the facts, but the *flavor*—something that will make a unique giant of our past sweat and fume and smell with the intense aroma of life.

While we miss the kind of book the author could have written, we must be grateful for what he has done as the result of his prodigious labors. He has certainly assembled, assorted and analyzed a huge mass of valuable and highly interesting information. He has traced "Long John's" career from its New Hampshire beginnings, rooted in a great historical tradition, to its culmination when a vast monument, ordered by himself, arose over his over-size grave in Rosehill Cemetery in Chicago. He hated many men, and these quarrels are described as motivated by his one great love, himself. There was, indeed, a man to love if you had a strong stomach. The Chicago crowd had it, so "Long John" often won political successes over violent opposition.

"Long John" was more often wrong than right in methods, views and deeds. He twisted and turned in self-contradiction, because he measured everything by the shifting yardstick of personal advantage, or the whim of the moment. We cannot really say that he added much besides a gamy flavor to the politics and life of the times. He had to be reckoned with in his day, but in his day only. That is not to say that he has been, or should be, forgotten. Indeed, the truth is that by reason of his complete identification with his age, he should be remembered by all who would recapture a true image of the period that produced Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas.

The author tells one tale of Wentworth and Lincoln that is noteworthy. The two tall characters were together at a mass meeting in Ogle County in 1856. They amused themselves by counting the number of babies nursing in their mothers' arms. Lincoln counted seventy-one. Wentworth, who always stretched his sharp eyes toward the last dollar and the last vote, declared

that there were two more than that. Then he added that such people had no reason to support the "superannuated old bachelor," James Buchanan. "And if their fathers do their duty," he intoned, "some of the little fellows will live to see the day when not a slave will curse the American soil; and may God hurry up the day by every constitutional means."

There was "Long John" at his best, but not necessarily as he is remembered.

Chicago

ELMER GERTZ

*Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America: 1861-65.* By Thomas L. Livermore. (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1957. Pp. 150. \$4.50.)

*Memoirs of General William T. Sherman.* By Himself. (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1957. 2 vol. in 1, Pp. 405, 409. \$8.00.)

*Grant and Lee.* By J. F. C. Fuller. (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1957. Pp. 323 [11]. \$5.00.)

These volumes comprise the beginning of the *Civil War Centennial Series* being issued by the Indiana University Press.

The Livermore volume was first printed in 1900 and is now relatively scarce. Priced at \$4.50 and with an introduction by Edward E. Barthell, Jr., it seems to be a good buy. Unfortunately it was reprinted without change, the introduction being the only new material. Even so, this slender volume deserves a place in any Civil War library.

The Sherman's *Memoirs* reprint, however, is not a particularly good buy. First published in 1875, and since reprinted and revised, the *Memoirs* are not scarce. A good second-hand set may be purchased for perhaps \$5.00. The Indiana University Press reprint has a fine introduction by B. H. Liddell Hart. It is priced at \$8.00, omits the chapters "From 1820 to the Mexican War, 1846," "After the War," "Last Years—Death and Funeral," as well as the appendices present in other editions. Further, the publishers have not included an index (present, for example, in the one-volume fourth edition of 1891), thus greatly impairing the usefulness of the volume. And finally, the book is a literal reprint, without correcting any of the minor details and dates with which Sherman was so sloppy. In view of these faults, and the fact that the original printings are easy to obtain, the Indiana University Press should not be surprised if the book receives only a small sale.

The third of these three books, *Grant and Lee*, has a new foreword by its author, J. F. C. Fuller. First published in 1932, *Grant and Lee* is an expansion of the author's introductory statement, "The object of this study is to examine the influence of personality." The book should be read by everyone interested in the Civil War, or in American military history.

C. C. W.

*The Rebel Shore.* By James M. Merrill. (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1957. Pp. 246. \$4.75.)

Dr. Merrill has started what will probably prove to be an avalanche of books on the naval aspects of the Civil War. This brief, one-volume study of Union sea power presents in dramatic fashion the highlights of four years of fighting. If the role of sea power has been minimized, as the author states, books such as this will more than remedy the situation. In fact, if the casual reader is not forewarned, he may forget that some small part of the Civil War (at least!) was decided by the movements of armies, marching on *terra firma*. Let us not have the pendulum swing too far out to sea.

C. C. W.

*Drama on the Rappahannock, The Fredericksburg Campaign.* By Edward J. Stackpole. (Military Service Publishing Company: Harrisburg, Pa., 1957. Pp. 297. \$4.75.)

The Fredericksburg campaign was the big one for Major General Ambrose E. Burnside. Before that campaign, his one distinction was the assault on the stone (Burnside) bridge at Antietam. After Fredericksburg he had no distinction, except to contribute the name of his whiskers—burnsides, or sideburns.

Before the Civil War, George B. McClellan, vice-president and general manager of the Illinois Central Railroad, and Burnside, treasurer, had offices in the Grand Central Station on the south bank of the Chicago River, just east of the present Michigan Avenue bridge. A frequent visitor there was Abraham Lincoln, one of the railroad corporation's lawyers.

When the war began, McClellan rose, and Burnside with him. But, after Antietam, Lincoln got tired of McClellan's "slows." He fired Little Mac and put Burnside in his place with the injunction to do something! Burnside's idea was to move through Fredericksburg to Richmond.

Major General Edwin V. Sumner's corps got to Fredericksburg ahead of the rebels. Sumner wanted to wade across the Rappahannock as the cattle were doing. But Burnside insisted on waiting for pontoons to bridge the river.

Burnside was on Stafford Heights, near Ferry farm where, it is said, "Washington chopped down the cherry tree." By the time the pontoons arrived, Confederate Generals Longstreet and "Stonewall" Jackson were well established on Marye's Heights, across the river behind Fredericksburg.

The river crossing was under fierce fire and the Federals butted against a stone wall at the foot of Marye's Heights. Fredericksburg was one of the bloodiest battles of the war, ranking with Shiloh, Antietam, Gettysburg,

Chickamauga, The Wilderness, and second Cold Harbor. Lincoln shifted Burnside and continued his pursuit of a winning general.

The book is perhaps the fullest treatment of the Fredericksburg campaign to date. Edward Stackpole, who served in two world wars and rose to major general, gives background leading up to Fredericksburg, and then tells of the battle in detail.

The book is one of the most notable of recent Civil War volumes in that it has a profusion of portraits, pictures, line drawings, and maps. Appendices list the generals in the battle and the battle strength and casualties on each side.

Chicago

GILBERT G. TWISS

*The Mormons.* By Thomas F. O'Dea. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1957. Pp. xii, 288 [1]. \$5.00.)

Anyone who wants a clear and detailed explanation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and its prophet will find what he is looking for in *The Mormons*. Though written by a non-Mormon the book is an objective study, and seems, to this reviewer, as completely without bias or prejudice as a book could be. It is a scholarly study but at the same time very readable.

To one whose knowledge of Mormonism is slight this will be an amazing, almost unbelievable story of what is "in many respects the most American of religions," and yet, paradoxically, "also the only one to carry out a prolonged conflict with American institutions." The origin of the *Book of Mormon* is probably known to most people, but how many know what it is about? Here they can find out about that and the other inspired writings of the Church.

This is a carefully documented book; the author's research has been profound. He lets Mormonism speak for itself. Chapter and verse are given over and over again. There are more than 240 footnotes plus many other sources which are placed at the end of the volume. One who wishes just to read may sail along rapidly; the student or skeptic can stop to check or study more fully.

Mormonism is not just another sect of Christianity, if anyone thinks that. It has its own explanation of matter, of creation, and of the nature of God, the purpose of life, and many other problems that perplex man. Marriage is "a solemn agreement which is to extend beyond the grave." "Providing bodies for spirits who 'must be born as children into the world' is 'a high purpose, if not the main one, of the earth work.'" Many have failed to note the intellectuality of the *Book of Mormon*, says author O'Dea. "There is

nothing obscure or unclear in its doctrine. . . . The revelation of the *Book of Mormon* is not a glimpse of higher and incomprehensible truths but reveals God's words to men with a democratic comprehensibility." The fact that "coffee and tea are held on almost the same level as alcoholic drinks," is, to this reviewer, unbelievable and yet O'Dea says, "Admission to the temple and hence permission to take part in the ceremonies performed there—temple marriage, sealings, baptism for the dead—are denied to Mormons who do not abide by the proscription of smoking and the command to abstain from coffee, tea, and liquor."

Only in the "Epilogue" (chapter 10) does the author really attempt to appraise and speculate on the future of this amazing religion. This chapter might well have been omitted but it was undoubtedly hard for one who had done so much study and observed a people so carefully not to summarize his own conclusions. O'Dea is associate professor of sociology at Fordham University. Both his undergraduate and doctoral work were done at Harvard University. He has previously served on the faculties of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Utah State Agricultural College.

A geographical error was noted on page 50. It places Nauvoo "about a dozen miles north of Quincy." That is certainly better than a baker's dozen!

S. A. W.

*John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis.* By Leonard U. Hill. (Privately printed: Piqua, Ohio, 1957. Pp. 198. \$2.75.)

By the "Land of the Three Miamis" Leonard Hill means those areas drained by the three rivers named after the Miami Indians: the Maumee, the Miami, and the Little Miami. Although John Johnston served as an Indian Agent at Fort Wayne (Indiana) and Piqua (Ohio), his life will be of interest to the residents of Illinois since the Indians of the Illinois country were also connected with these areas at times. The second part of this volume consists of Johnston's autobiography, *Recollections of Sixty Years*, which has been published several times before but is now difficult to obtain.

Johnston was born March 25, 1775, in Northern Ireland and came to the United States with his parents in 1786. They settled in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, but young Johnston became engaged in the army supply business during the time that General Anthony Wayne was operating against the Indians. As a result of this service, he was appointed Indian Factor (business agent) for Fort Wayne on July 1, 1802. Seven years later he assumed the additional duties of Indian Agent, but in 1811 he purchased a farm near Piqua and moved there. Because of his previous experience, Johnston was selected as Indian Agent for the Shawnee who lived in his

district and served in this capacity until he was relieved of duty in 1830. When the federal government wished to remove the Wyandot Indians from Ohio in 1841, Johnston was asked to negotiate the treaty. This was his last work with the Indians although he lived until February 18, 1861.

The source material for this book is mainly the voluminous Indian records in the National Archives, although the author has also ferreted out other Johnston papers. There is little critical evaluation of the Indian accounts, however. It is doubtful that the Miami actually established their first village at Detroit, as Little Turtle claimed in 1795. Nor should it be stated that the Miami were the original inhabitants of Ohio because three rivers there are named for them. When first discovered by the whites, the Miami were near Green Bay, Wisconsin. In fact, the Fox River in that state was once known as the Miami as was the Kankakee in Illinois. Chicago was once called the Fort of the Miami before this tribe moved to Detroit about 1702. Rivers sometimes bear the names of the *last* Indian group to live upon them.

*Illinois State Museum*

WAYNE C. TEMPLE

*The United States—The History of a Republic.* By Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron. (Prentice-Hall, Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1957. Pp. 812. \$7.95.)

Any bit of historical writing which boasts the joint authorship of three prominent American historians will undoubtedly command respect. Readers may well recall the prize-winning interpretations of American political history by Hofstadter, the writings in economic history by Miller, and the able editing as well as writing by Aaron. Though intended primarily as a text book for students of American history on the college level, the volume under review will certainly appeal to the general reader and may be read with enjoyment and profit by both student and citizen-at-large.

This history traces the growth and development of the United States from the European background of American colonization to the present burden of responsibility which characterizes its new status in today's troubled world. Though no effort is made to identify the particular chapters for which each individual author is responsible, one imagines he can recognize the fine hand of the specialist as he deals with matters which relate to his own field of particular interest.

In its 757 pages of text the book follows the traditional approach with the emphasis upon the political, but with occasional attention to such equally significant considerations as the nation's economy, the social process, and intellectual ferment. The writing is generally quite good throughout, and

there are a number of wonderfully interpretative sections hidden away in the most unsuspected places. The "mechanics" of the book (maps, illustrations, appendix, and index) are helpful as well as adequate.

*University of Illinois*

ROBERT M. SUTTON

*The Frontier Mind, A Cultural Analysis of the Kentucky Frontiersman.*

By Arthur K. Moore. (University of Kentucky Press: Lexington, Kentucky, 1957. Pp. 264. \$5.00.)

It was hoped by the reviewer as he read the title of this book that Professor Moore had surveyed the ideas, belief, and feeling of the frontier as W. J. Cash investigated the mind of the South. Unfortunately the book does not live up to the title. A title something like "The Frontiersman as Seen in the Romantic Novel" would have been more apt. The author covers this subject well, but the reader gets only the vaguest glimpse of the frontiersman.

In his preface the author writes, ". . . the American West considered as a cultural extension of the old world became annoyingly evident, and I saw a real need to reassert how far the past lives on in the minds of men and positively or negatively affects their decisions." It would seem that Professor Moore is quick to defend what few doubt. This proposition is exactly why all historians and teachers of history exist. Professor Moore seems to assume that all historians are dedicated to the ideas of social evolution as propounded by Frederick Jackson Turner. While Professor Turner is respected, the whole theory of social evolution is a punctured balloon. In any case the author distorts the Turner thesis. Not even Professor Turner believed that as the frontiersman donned the coonskin cap, he lost every civilized idea. He simply adapted those ideas to his new environment. The preachments of the semi-literate Baptist preacher were still Christianity although the Archbishop of Canterbury might have been slightly mystified if he had heard the sermons.

Professor Moore asserts that the frontiersman was motivated by two major ideas. One was the age-old search for a paradise in the West. The other motive is supposed to have come from the idea of progress which was so prominent in the period of the Enlightenment. It would seem to this reviewer that the author is less than convincing.

The book would have been improved by a definition of what is meant by the frontier—as to when and where. It is also doubtful that the Kentucky frontiersman is a prototype as suggested by the subtitle. The author's sources of information are also doubtful. He tends to use entirely too many fictional accounts and secondary sources. The historian can no more accept the

romantic figures of the novels of writers like James Fenimore Cooper as fair representatives of the frontiersman than he can accept Hiawatha as a typical Indian.

In spite of these criticisms, there are some interesting points in the book. One is the description of the early history of Transylvania University and its decline brought on by the anti-intellectualism of religious groups. This is pertinent but could it not be shown that the religious groups were not the only anti-intellectual forces on the frontier and that the whole rationale of the frontier was anti-intellectual? Could it be that this is the origin of the anti-intellectualism which still plagues the United States? These very significant things are only hinted at in the book.

*Eastern Illinois University*

DONALD F. TINGLEY

*Christmas for Tad. A Story of Mary and Abraham Lincoln.* By Helen Topping Miller. (Longmans, Green and Company: New York, 1956. Pp. 92. \$2.50.)

Helen Topping Miller can write charmingly and she has done so in this little story, *Christmas for Tad*. It is a delightful bit of fictionized history and a book that should please adults as well as children. It is the Christmas of 1863 of which Mrs. Miller writes and she emphasizes that it is the first Christmas since Willie Lincoln's death. Willie, however, died on February 20, 1862. But perhaps one should not be too critical and just enjoy this Christmas story of the Lincolns, the boys of Company K and especially Tad.

S. A. W.



## NEWS AND COMMENT

### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Superb autumn weather and the promise of an outstanding program including nationally-known speakers and a pioneer dinner brought the largest attendance in recent years to the Fifty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in Normal on October 11 and 12. Enjoyment of the events of the two days was heightened by the fact that they were perfectly organized and carried through by an Illinois State Normal University committee headed by Dr. Helen M. Cavanagh, professor of history.

At the annual business meeting held Friday afternoon Alexander Summers of Mattoon was elected president for 1957-1958 and Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., of Moline, Senior Vice-President. Directors for the three-year term ending in 1960 named by the nominating committee, headed by Past President John W. Allen of Carbondale, and elected by unanimous vote of the membership were: Louis E. Aaron, Harrisburg; Robert G. Bone, Normal; Richard S. Hagen, Galena; Mrs. Doris Parr Leonard, Princeton; and Gilbert G. Twiss, Chicago. The other Vice-Presidents elected by the directors were: Charles Chaplin, Northbrook; David Davis, Bloomington; Wasson W. Lawrence, Fairfield; Herman G. Nelson, Rockford; Ralph G. Newman, Oak Park; Philip D. Sang, River Forest; and Robert M. Sutton, Urbana. State Historian Clyde C. Walton of Springfield was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer.

President Summers served as Senior Vice-President, 1956-1957, and before that was a director, 1951-1953, and a Vice-President, 1953-1956. He lives in Mattoon where he is in the oil equipment business. For the past half a dozen years he has been a member of the State Teachers College Board and is at present its secretary and chairman of the building and grounds committee. Along with his state historical activities the new President was



Photo by Gilbert G. Twiss

### HISTORIANS—AMATEUR AND PRO

Two professional historians, Richard B. Harwell, standing left, and T. Harry Williams, seated right, posed with two amateurs, Ralph E. Francis, standing right, President of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1956-1957, and Alexander Summers, seated left, his successor, just before the Society's pioneer dinner at Normal.

one of the founders of the Mattoon Historical Society and served as its president for two terms. He is the author of a number of newspaper articles and booklets on historical subjects.

The State Society meeting was held in conjunction with the many activities of the year-long celebration of Illinois State Normal University's centennial and followed by a week the inauguration of Dr. Robert G. Bone as the institution's ninth president. On Thursday evening the early arrivals, about fifty in number, met in the Faculty Lounge for a get-together hour. The first session on the program opened Friday morning in Metcalf Auditorium when Dr. Bone welcomed the group to the campus. Dr. Helen E. Marshall, author of *Grandest of Enterprises*, the centennial history of I. S. N. U., and a member of the history faculty, gave a brief summary of the book. This was followed by the school's centennial color motion picture which depicted the travels of Bill Harris, a reporter-photographer for the *Blooming-*

*ton Pantagraph*, in seeking the story of I. S. N. U. The one hundred or so members who attended this session had their number increased by about sixty foreign students wanting to learn more about the school. After this program the visitors were given their option of three walking tours of the campus with student guides.

Three Illinois winners of awards from the American Association for State and Local History were announced at the Friday luncheon by Secretary-Treasurer Walton. Two of them were at the luncheon. These were Mrs. John W. Bailey of Princeton, publisher of the *Bureau County Republican*, which was recognized for its sustained interest in local history, and Dr. William T. Hutchinson of the University of Chicago, whose two-volume book, *Lowden of Illinois*, was called a "thorough, scholarly, but readable, biography of an extremely significant figure in Illinois history." The honored Illinoisan not at the meeting was Bessie Louise Pierce of Chicago. The third volume of her *History of Chicago* was lauded as "a model for all who would write urban history." The luncheon speaker was Loring C. Merwin, publisher of the *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph*, who told the interesting story of Bloomington's newspapers from the time of the Black Hawk War to World War I.

Back at Metcalf Auditorium after luncheon three of the eleven scenes from the I. S. N. U. centennial pageant, "With Faith in the Future," were presented by a student cast under the direction of Dr. Mabel Clare Allen. This was followed by the showing of slides of people and places of historical interest on the campus and in the community. President Ralph E. Francis presided at the annual business meeting of the Historical Society which was held in the auditorium before the afternoon session adjourned.

Highlight of the two-day program was the annual dinner Friday, at the I. S. N. U. Student Union, with its pioneer menu and two nationally-known speakers. The full menu read as follows: "mulled cider, roast rib of native buffalo (or fried channel catfish) mashed Hubbard squash, string beans with salt pork, cabbage slaw, pickled beets, assorted cucumber and onion rings, corn lunn with creamy butter and honey, peach fool, and coffee (tea or milk)." Recipes for the lesser-known dishes were found by Bruce T. Kaiser, director of the Student Union, in the *New Housekeeper's Manual*, (New York, 1874) by the Beecher sisters, Catherine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe. The buffalo meat was supplied by a New York caterer dealing in unusual foods and shipped to Normal in ice. Before roasting it was marinated for seventy-two hours in a mixture of vinegar and spices. Corn lunn is a type of corn bread and peach fool dessert is stewed peaches with a custard sauce (any fruit may be used).

After this repast Secretary-Treasurer Walton introduced the two speakers

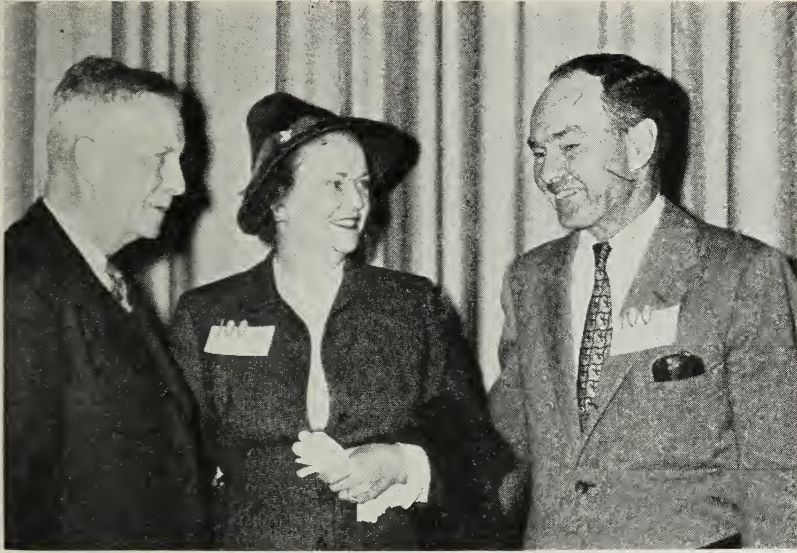


Photo by Gilbert G. Twiss

### TWO HISTORICAL AWARD WINNERS

Winners of awards by the American Association for State and Local History, Dr. William T. Hutchinson, left, and Mrs. John W. Bailey, receive the congratulations of Loring C. Merwin, publisher of the *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph* at the State Historical Society luncheon.

of the evening, Dr. T. Harry Williams, professor of American History at Louisiana State University, and Richard B. Harwell, of Chicago, executive secretary of the College Research Librarians' division of the American Library Association.

Although his talk was programmed as "Music of the Civil War" Harwell spoke principally on the seven hundred or so songs published in the South. Calling himself a "Confederate disc jockey" he used a record player to illustrate his talk with such songs as "Lorena," "Take Me Home," "Kathleen Mavourneen," "The Yellow Rose of Texas," "Goober Peas," "Here's Your Mule," and "All Quiet Along the Potomac Tonight."

Dr. Williams, who was born at Vinegar Hill, Jo Daviess County, Illinois, is a "Colonel in the Southern Air Force" and called himself a "vulcanized Southerner" but admitted that his "patch sometimes shows." He is the author of several books about Lincoln and the Civil War, and spoke on America's costliest conflict as "The Last Gentleman's War." To support this theme he cited instance after instance of fraternizing and numerous displays

of chivalry by soldiers of both armies. Some fifty students joined the two-hundred and eight diners for the speaking program.

The four buses necessary for the Saturday morning tour left Jesse W. Fell Gate to the I. S. N. U. campus at 8:30 A.M. for a forty-mile excursion around the Normal-Bloomington area and south on Route 66 to Research Acres of the Funk Bros. Seed Company. Among the historic homes pointed out by the faculty members who acted as guides on each of the buses were those of Charles E. Hovey, first president of Normal; the two Adlai E. Stevensons; Governor Joseph W. Fifer and his daughter Florence Fifer Bohrer; and Jesse W. Fell. The buses made a complete circuit of the David Davis home (built in 1871), and the passengers also had pointed out to them such other places as the crossing of the Illinois Central and Gulf, Mobile and Ohio railroads; the tent-shaped barn which the Flying Concellos and other circus troupes used for winter training; Illinois Wesleyan University; the site of Major's Hall, where the first I. S. N. U. classes were held; the century-old Beich Candy Company; the building of the *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph* (founded 1846) and the zoo and lake at Miller Park.

The first stop was made at 10 A.M. at Research Acres where the visitors saw approximately eighty different varieties of corn growing in a demonstration plot—from Indian flint to the most modern Funk hybrid. There was corn from Italy, Brazil, Uruguay, Mexico, England, Holland, Hawaii, South Africa, Spain, plus dozens of American varieties, including low ear, high ear, midget, pod, and pipe corn. With the growing season ended the results were easily pointed out by the Funk official who boarded each bus for the ride around the plot.

While the group had coffee and doughnuts Eugene Funk explained briefly the seed company's operations and told something of the family's history. A bus ride of another two or three miles over gravel roads took the visitors past the site of Isaac Funk's first log cabin (built in 1824) to the Funk's Grove Church. This white, weatherboard structure is still heated by stoves but the original kerosene wall lamps have been converted to electricity. While the group sat in the white pine pews Lafayette Funk told the story of the church. Then they were directed across the gravel road and down a sawdust trail of a hundred yards or so into the woods to the "Chapel of the Templed Trees"—an open-air chapel with huge, unshaped logs for pews and upright logs for the pulpit and lectern. The pastor, the Rev. Loyal M. Thompson, addressed the group briefly and read several of his verses about the forest setting. The buses left the church at 11:40 A.M. and were back at the Normal campus for lunch shortly after noon.

The newly elected officers of the Historical Society sat at the speaker's table at the Saturday luncheon and were introduced by the outgoing presi-



Photo by I.S.N.U. Publicity Office

### AT HISTORICAL SOCIETY LUNCHEON

Loring C. Merwin, center, publisher of the *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph*, who was the Friday luncheon speaker at the annual Historical Society meeting at Normal, is seen as he arrived at the speaker's table and was greeted by President Ralph E. Francis, left, of the Historical Society and President Robert G. Bone, right, of Illinois State Normal University.

dent, Ralph E. Francis. President Summers paid tribute to the local arrangements committee, headed by Dr. Cavanagh, and outlined the aims of his administration for the coming year. The luncheon speaker was Thomas Wilson an I. S. N. U. student who told about the need for teacher training and the teacher-training program at Normal.

Following luncheon the group split up into three workshop sessions, with the one on the "Techniques of Genealogical Research," under Margaret A. Flint, reference librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library, and Mrs. Robert Hartnell of Lincoln, attracting about half of the attendance. The other two were on "Printing and Allied Techniques for the Local Historical Society," under Vernon Sternberg, director of the Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, and Robert E. Miller, Jr., of the Frye Printing Company, Springfield, and "Museum Techniques for the Local Historical Society,"

under three members of the Illinois State Museum staff, Milton Thompson, Marion Hoffman, and Mrs. Frances Ridgely. The last of these workshops wound up its business a little after 4 P.M. and was followed by a coffee hour in the Faculty Lounge—where it all began, forty-four hours earlier.

### ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Alton Area Historical Society joined in the Madison County Historical Society's celebration at Wood River on September 15.

The old Alton penitentiary was the subject of the Society's October 13 meeting. Clarence Sargent, Mrs. Thomas Morgan and Mrs. Frank Stobbs read papers on its history, and President John F. Stobbs appointed a committee to work for the preservation of portions of the old wall. Members of this committee are President Stobbs, Vice-President Maitland Timmermeier, and President Donald F. Lewis of the Madison County Society.

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The Arlington Heights Historical Society met on July 26 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. M. F. Daniels.

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The Rev. Roscoe C. Coen of Vandalia spoke on "The Religious Life of the Vandalia Area" at the meeting of the Bond County Historical Society on October 8 at the Greenville Presbyterian Church. He had originally presented this talk in 1955 before the Vandalia Historical Society.

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The Bureau County Historical Society is conducting a membership drive. Officers of the Society are: Frank W. Grisell, president; Allie Whitney, vice-president; Mrs. Doris P. Leonard, secretary; Duncan L. Bryant, treasurer.

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L. H. Jonas was elected president of the Centralia Historical Society at its organization meeting on October 10. Other officers are: James B. Wham, vice-president; William Joy, secretary; Florence McCawley, treasurer; Mrs. Margaret Baird, Dr. G. W. Baldwin, Mrs. Dorothy Brady, Ernest M. Dolan, O. Earle Harmon, Hal Redus and Robert M. Washburn, directors. Plans were made for a museum at the Public Library, and a committee appointed. Some dozen members of the group spoke briefly on proposed activities of the Society. A move is under way to procure a steam locomotive from the Illinois Central, to stand in a park near the station as a memento of the era before dieselization. It is planned to include the four counties surrounding Centralia—Marion, Clinton, Washington and Jefferson—as well as the city in the Society's work. Octogenarians who have resided in the area for fifty years are entitled to honorary membership.

The Chicago Historical Society's special feature exhibit in September commemorated the 143d anniversary of the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner." The Society, through the co-operation of the Plumbing Contractors' Association of Chicago, which is marking its seventy-fifth anniversary, exhibited a collection of old bathtubs under the title "One Hundred Years of the Bath." The tubs, ordinarily on exhibit at the Cleanliness Bureau in New York, were shipped to Chicago especially for this exhibit, which was on display from September 20 to October 20.

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The Lawndale-Crawford Historical Society (Chicago) held its twenty-fourth annual meeting on September 25 at the Toman Branch Library. The meeting was a salute to Chicago's policemen, firemen and mail carriers, with a representative of each group giving a short address. Frank Kubina directed the Lyra Singing Society. Old photographs and documents were on display.

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The Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) met at the Woodlawn Regional Library on October 11. Henry Vernon Slater, Marion Bragdon and Mrs. Ivy Owens Morgan discussed "Early Transportation in Woodlawn." Special music was furnished by Mrs. Oren H. Wright. Elizabeth Gray is president of the Society.

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The Jefferson County Historical Society made a field trip to Springfield and New Salem on August 24-25.

On October 13 thirty-two members of the Society visited the sites of early trading communities and post offices in Pendleton, Webber and Farrington townships. Among the locations visited were Lynchburg, Marlow, Bluford, Echoville (or Dammit), the "Oklahoma" section, Horse Creek, Potters Corners, and Divide.

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The Jersey County Historical Society adopted a new constitution and by-laws at its meeting on September 13. Since the Society's recent reorganization more than 200 persons have become members, and the files, stored for many years in the Chapman Building, have been moved to the Public Library where they will be on exhibition.

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Knox County Historic Sites, Inc., has almost completed the restoration of the General Henry Knox room in the old Knoxville courthouse. The group sponsored an auction on September 14 to raise funds for further work on the restoration. Lewis Marks was auctioneer and Reuben Johnson and Alvin Gehring co-chairmen. Even with the restoration incomplete, the

old building's associations with Lincoln and Douglas attract many visitors, particularly schoolchildren.

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The Logan County Historical Society met at the Mt. Pulaski courthouse on September 6 in connection with Old Settlers' Day. Mayor Elmer Schafenacker welcomed the group to Mt. Pulaski, and President William Komnick of the Society responded. Vice-President E. H. Lukenbill presided. Marie Dean of Elkhart presented Fred Roth, custodian of the courthouse, with a drawing of Lincoln made by J. DeCamp about 1861 for display. Mrs. Gayland Green gave a history of the courthouse, and George L. Cashman, Lincoln Tomb custodian, spoke.

The Society also took part in the dedication of a historical marker at Middletown on September 21 as part of that town's 125th anniversary celebration (September 18-21). Carl W. Smith presided and the Rev. C. Ward Simpson delivered the invocation. Mayor Ralph W. Stone welcomed the visitors and President Komnick unveiled the marker, which notes Lincoln's presence when the village was surveyed and lots sold in 1832. Speakers were James Weaver, on "Lincoln the Surveyor," and Wayne C. Townley of Bloomington, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, on "Lincoln the Neighbor." Special music was furnished by Rose Ellen Pierce, soloist, and the Middletown grade school chorus directed by Mrs. Dorothy Fay.

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A plaque commemorating the fact that in 1835 Stephen A. Douglas was circuit attorney for the circuit including McLean County was unveiled in the courthouse at Bloomington on October 26. Speakers at the ceremonies were Adlai E. Stevenson, former governor of Illinois and presidential candidate; Dr. Robert G. Bone, president of Illinois State Normal University; and Robert D. Douglas, Jr., of Greensboro, North Carolina, great-grandson of Senator Douglas. The dedication was sponsored by the McLean County Historical Society.

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The thirty-sixth annual fall meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held in the auditorium of the East Alton-Wood River Community High School on September 15 in co-operation with the Wood River Golden Anniversary Celebration. Special guests were the members of the Alton Area, Land o' Goshen and Lewis and Clark historical societies. The meeting opened with the pledge of allegiance and greetings from Mayor James M. Delaney of Wood River and President Charles T. Gabbert of the Lewis and Clark Historical Society of America. President Donald F. Lewis of the Madison County Society responded. Music was furnished by the East Alton-Wood River high school chorus directed by Vera Jones.

Irving Dilliard, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, gave the address on "The Lewis and Clark Expedition." President Lewis then presented President Gabbert with the Jefferson Peace Medal, a replica of the medals distributed by Lewis and Clark to Indian chiefs; an autographed copy of Senator Richard Neuberger's book on the expedition; and a letter from Mrs. Esther Horn, a direct descendant of the Indian woman Sacajawea, guide on the expedition. William L. Mellot, president of the Wood River Township Golden Anniversary Corporation, summarized the celebration. The Society voted in favor of restoring the site of the old Alton penitentiary. After election of officers the formal meeting adjourned to view an exhibit of historical items, particularly focused on the Lewis and Clark expedition, arranged by local historian Loyal D. Palmer.

Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, Jessie Springer and Ella Tunnell were re-elected directors, and State Representative Paul Simon was elected to the board to replace Mary Harnsberger. Other directors are Robert C. Lange, A. Edson Smith, Jesse R. Brown, C. E. Townsend, Dilliard, Lewis, Burton C. Bernard and Leslie E. Prehn. Directors emeritus are Charles H. Dorris, William Waters, Harvey E. Dorsey and E. W. Ellis. Officers of the Society are: Lewis, president; Smith, vice-president; Miss Harnsberger, second vice-president; Miss Springer, secretary; and Mrs. Meyer, treasurer.

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The Marshall County Historical Society held a picnic meeting at the Pattonsburg Christian Church on July 21. Mrs. Stella Hayden opened the program with two whistling solos, followed by talks on various aspects of the vicinity by Mrs. Ike Davis, Roscoe Ball, William Hatton, James Leigh and R. H. Spooner. The group then visited Martin's and Crow Meadow cemeteries.

On August 22 the Society participated in Old Settlers' Day in lieu of a regular meeting. On September 15 the group visited the Indian museum of Mr. and Mrs. Roland Braun in Richland Township.

A motor tour of Nighswonger, Bonham, Meridian-Weis, Mansfield, Whitefield Center, Sugar Grove and Hoyt cemeteries—most of them inactive for years—followed by a potluck supper at the John Boose home in Henry, constituted the program for October 13.

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The Nauvoo Historical Society had a busy summer at the museum maintained by it in Nauvoo State Park—as many as 250 visitors having registered on several weekends. Many articles have been presented to the Society to add to the displays. The Society has also conducted tours of old homes in the area. Pictures shown by Bill Repplinger highlighted the regular quarterly meeting on October 15.

Twenty-seven members of the Ogle County Historical Society chartered a bus and visited the Chicago Historical Society museum on September 8.

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Richard S. Hagen, historical consultant of the Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials, addressed the Perry County Historical Society at the Pinckneyville Junior High School on September 9, explaining techniques used in the restoration of the Lincoln and Grant homes and New Salem, and which will be used in work on the Pierre Menard home. President Raymond E. Lee presided.

John W. Allen, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, was the speaker at the Society's banquet in Du Quoin on October 7.

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President Herbert H. Kaiser of the Piatt County Historical Society told members of his recent European trip at a meeting of the Society on July 29 at the Allerton Library in Monticello, illustrating his talk with slides.

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Members of the Randolph County Historical Society were guests of the Saline County Historical Society on August 18. After a luncheon at the Harrisburg home of Louis Aaron, president of the Saline County Society—during which an antique music box, provided by Mr. and Mrs. Roy Metcalf, furnished background music—the combined group proceeded to Equality and new and old Shawneetown. As a special entertainment feature Rudy Phillips and students at his ski school presented an exhibition of water skiing.

The Randolph County Society's meeting at Sparta on September 19 was chiefly devoted to discussion of plans for the restoration of the Pierre Menard home.

The Rev. Henry F. Gerecke, pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church of Chester and chaplain of Southern Illinois Penitentiary, was the speaker at the Society's annual banquet meeting on October 18. His talk described the trials of the prominent Nazis at Nürnberg at the end of World War II, at which he was chaplain. Mrs. Lester C. Walker played the Hammond organ and Hortense Hood recited a poem, "Dreams," with organ background. The Society discussed plans to purchase the octagonal Charter Oak school building near Schuline and preserve it. The building, now abandoned for school purposes, is said to be one of only two schools in the United States built in that shape. The Society also voted to offer a prize of \$10 for the most authentic historical float entered in the Sparta Hallowe'en parade. Officers elected at this meeting are: Mrs. John Gilster, president; Henry Thielen, vice-president; Lily Flynn, secretary; Mrs. Arthur J. Hessman, treasurer; Ebers Schweizer (retiring president) and Mrs. Willard Spurgeon, directors.

At the meeting of the Riverside Historical Society on July 31 the discussion centered on the subject of reprinting *Then and Now*, the history of Riverside now long out of print. It was decided to reprint if enough persons would indicate their desire for copies so that expenses could be met.

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The Rockton Township (Winnebago County) Historical Society met on September 9 and planned its Tour of Century-old Buildings, which was conducted on October 6. Ten buildings in addition to the Stephen Mack Museum were open to visitors. This was the last opening of the museum until next spring. Proceeds will be applied to the preservation and improvement of the museum.

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The Saline County Historical Society's August meeting was a tour of Equality and Shawneetown, with members of the Randolph County Society as guests.

Archaeologist Irvin M. Peithmann of Southern Illinois University addressed the group at Eldorado on September 3, his subject being the Indians of southern Illinois. His talk was illustrated by slides.

Mrs. Roy Metcalf spoke on majolica and displayed part of her collection at the Society's meeting at the Mitchell-Carnegie Library in Harrisburg on October 1. The Society voted to sell the Lincoln bricks made by the Albion Brick & Tile Company and to apply the proceeds to the museum fund. Plans for co-operation in the restoration of the old Bank of Illinois building at Shawneetown were discussed, and Autumn Color Tours to be made through the county each Sunday in October were announced. Louis E. Aaron is president of the Society.

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The Shawnee Hills Recreation Association met at Paul's Cafe in Metropolis on August 19. Representatives of six counties were present and exchanged ideas on the objects of the Association. George M. Scherrer of Shawneetown is president.

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At the fall meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society in Carbondale on October 18, the following officers were elected: Elbert Fulkerson, president; Mrs. L. O. Trigg, vice-president; Dr. John Clifford, secretary-treasurer; T. Leo Dodd, Virgil Center and Norman Caldwell, directors. Mrs. Henry Moreland of Cairo reported on progress in the rebuilding of Fort Defiance. John W. Allen gave the necrology and the Rev. Charles E. F. Howe the invocation. The feature of the program was a series of slides constituting a "Historic Picture Tour of Southern Illinois," shown by Mrs. Lowell A. Dearing with commentary by her husband.

Officers of the Stark County Historical Society, re-elected at the Society's annual meeting on September 16, are: Charles M. Wilson, president; Mrs. Mary H. Grieve, vice-president; Anna Lowman, secretary; Rena Baker, treasurer. Miss Baker, Miss Lowman, Ednah McClenahan, Eugene H. Nichols and Paul H. Walker were elected directors for three years, and Fred O. Heaton for two years to fill a vacancy.

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Members of the Stephenson County Historical Society saw color pictures of the Navajo Indians at a meeting on October 11. These slides were taken, shown and commented on by Robert Noll. The group then visited the Indian exhibit lately added to the Society's museum at 1440 South Carroll Avenue. The museum is open to the public from 1:30 to 5 P.M. on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, and at other times by appointment.

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The Vandalia Historical Society began its 1957-1958 season with a potluck dinner at the First Presbyterian Church on September 17. Members answered roll call with historical facts about Illinois, and the program consisted of community singing led by Curt Muelchi, with Delia Mitchell at the piano.

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Kenneth Hammack, photographer, and Allen E. Johnson, historian, presented a program on "Old Pictures" at the Wayne County Historical Society's first meeting of the season on September 27. The Society is compiling a collection of pictures of old residents, scenes and buildings of Wayne County.

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Dr. Norman W. Caldwell of the history department of Southern Illinois University addressed the Williamson County Historical Society at the Marion Carnegie Library on October 6, speaking on Illinois between the French and Indian War and the Ordinance of 1787. The following officers were elected: Snyder E. Herrin, president; Ruth Grant, Mrs. Mabel Purcell and Mrs. G. W. Bayles, vice-presidents; Pearl Roberts, secretary; Jessie Gray, treasurer; Mrs. Roscoe Parks, archivist; and Mrs. Logan Colp, parliamentarian.

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The Winnetka Historical Society met on September 25 to begin planning for an observance of the centennial of the Winnetka school system in 1959. Speakers were Lloyd Faxon, president of the Society; Dr. Sidney Marland, Jr., superintendent of the Winnetka public school system; and Mrs. Frederick Dickinson, author of *The History of Winnetka*.

## TOWN CENTENNIALS DURING 1957

The Illinois State Historical Society has received information of only eleven town and city centennial celebrations during 1957: Ashland, July 14-20; Cicero, November 3; Clifton, July ———; Dongola, May 18; Greenview, July 11-13; Mason City, August 31-September 2; Newman, August 23-25; Polo, June ———; Ramsey, October 2; Secor, June 21-23; and Woodhull, July 18-20.

There were at least four one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations during the year: Mechanicsburg, June 29; Chandlerville, August 24; Middletown, September 19-22; and Springfield's "Capitennial," June 30-July 6, celebrating the one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary of the city's incorporation and the one hundred twentieth anniversary of its selection as the capital and Abraham Lincoln's move to Springfield from New Salem. Wood River celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with an elaborate program, climaxed by a joint meeting of the historical societies of the area September 15 (see page 442), a special 100-page edition of the *Wood River Journal* September 19, and a celebration at Memorial Airport September 20-22.

The Historical Society tries to keep a complete record of centennial and anniversary celebrations, and particularly to preserve anniversary newspaper editions, books, booklets and pamphlets, which are invaluable to researchers and contain much material otherwise inaccessible. Nevertheless, it continues to gain information about celebrations in previous years which were not then noted. Members are invited to send in information, and publications, of such celebrations, and the Society will gladly defray any costs.

## EVEN PROFESSORS SOMETIMES MAKE MISTAKES

In a brief note in the Spring 1957 issue of this *Journal* (page 89) which was a postscript to an earlier article, "The Three Lives of Frank H. Hall," Walter B. Hendrickson, professor of history at MacMurray College, Jacksonville, stated that the "Progressive Education" of the 1890's had been affected somewhat by "the studies in psychology of Henry James."

Two readers noticed the error. The author was one of them and he writes: "I made a very grievous slip in naming Henry instead of William James, and perhaps it should be acknowledged. . . . Probably I was in too much of a hurry in writing my squib. Any student of educational history would catch it at once."

One "student of educational history" who did "catch it at once" was Robert B. Browne, dean of the Division of University Extension of the University of Illinois, who adds: "There is a saying that William James wrote textbooks on psychology that read like novels, while his brother Henry

wrote novels that read like textbooks in psychology. . . . It is hard to keep the James boys apart. There were two Williams and two Henrys. The first William was the grandfather; the first Henry was the father of the two celebrated brothers."

## LETTERS-TO-THE-EDITOR DEPARTMENT

OCTOBER 16, 1957

THE EDITOR  
JOURNAL OF THE ILLINOIS STATE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
CENTENNIAL BUILDING  
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS  
DEAR SIR:

For several years following the publication in 1953 of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* I noticed citations of this work appearing in footnotes or text of articles in the *Journal* which read: "Abraham Lincoln Association, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* . . ." etc. This curious practice I observe to be spreading to other publications, as for example, Maurice Baxter's *Orville H. Browning, Lincoln's Friend and Critic* (1957) in which every citation of the above mentioned work reads "Abraham Lincoln Association, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. . . ."

According to customary practice in abbreviation, I suppose "ed." to stand for "editor," but I confess that I am not yet accustomed to the idea that an "Association" edited *The Collected Works*.

Bibliographically there is a standard form which would serve satisfactorily for a full citation, to be abbreviated perhaps in succeeding references simply to "*Collected Works*." The form as adapted from the Library of Congress Catalog Card is as follows:

Lincoln, Abraham. *Collected Works*. The Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois. Roy P. Basler, editor; Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, assistant editors. New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University Press, 1953-55.

If it should be desirable to adapt a citation by editors' names, the following would seem to be alternatives in keeping with standard practice:

- 1) Basler, Roy P., editor; Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, assistant editors. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1953.
- 2) Basler, Roy P., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, eds. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1953.

I hope that the practice of designating the Abraham Lincoln Association as the "ed." may not be continued, for much as we all owe to the Association, editorial responsibility should rest squarely on my shoulders and those of my colleagues.

SINCERELY  
ROY P. BASLER  
3030 LAKE AVENUE  
CHEVERLY, MARYLAND

### CLAUDIUS U. STONE OF PEORIA DIES

Claudius U. Stone, Peoria attorney and civic leader died on November 13 at the age of seventy-nine. Attorney Stone was widely known as an amateur historian and archaeologist, and, in addition to the Illinois State Historical Society, he was a member of more than twenty similar organizations and a fifty-year member of several fraternal groups. "Judge" Stone, as he was known (Peoria County master-in-chancery, 1925-1941), was born on a farm near Greenview, Menard County, and attended Western Normal School, a private institution at Bushnell. He studied law at the University of Michigan and George Washington University and was admitted to the bar in 1909. Earlier he had served in the Spanish-American War (1898-1899) and had been Peoria County Superintendent of Schools (1902-1910). He was elected a Representative in Congress in 1910 and re-elected for two more terms, in 1917 he was appointed Peoria's postmaster and served until 1920. He was editor and publisher of the *Peoria Star* from 1938 to 1949. When he was seventy-five Judge Stone returned to the classrooms of Bradley University and earned a Master of Arts degree in American history.

### UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL HISTORY

Dr. Arthur E. Bestor, professor of American history and a past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, has been named head of a five-man faculty committee to make plans for a history of the University of Illinois to be published as a part of a centennial year celebration to be held in 1968. Other members of the committee are Dr. Robert B. Browne, dean of the Division of University Extension; Dr. Leslie W. Dunlap, professor of library science; and Dr. Raymond W. Stearns and Dr. Bryce D. Lyon, of the history faculty. This committee will have charge of determining the kind of history to be published, selecting one or more historians to do the writing, and setting up a budget for the project.

There have been a number of histories of the University and of various phases of University life published since the turn of the century. Among

these are: *Illinois*, by Allan Nevins (New York, 1917); *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois, Volume I, The Movement for Industrial Education and the Establishment of the University, 1840-1870*, by Burt E. Powell (Urbana, 1918); *Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois, [1904-1920]* Edmund J. James, [ed.], (Urbana, 1920); *Illini Years, A Picture History of the University of Illinois, [1868-1950]*, based on research by Carl Stephens (Urbana, 1950); *On the Banks of the Boneyard*, (tales of the early days of the University) by Charles A. Kiler (Urbana, 1942); and *"We're Loyal to You, Illinois,"* (history of the University's bands) by Cary Clive Burford (Danville, 1952).

### LOEB-LEOPOLD CASE ON NEW YORK STAGE

Chicago history in the form of the celebrated Loeb-Leopold murder case of 1924 is the basis for the play "Compulsion" which opened at the Ambassador Theatre in New York this autumn. It is a dramatized version of the book with the same title by Meyer Levin, who, as a newspaper reporter, covered the story as it developed more than thirty years ago. The names, however, have been changed to Artie Straus and Judd Steiner (with Roddy McDowall and Dean Stockwell in these two roles) and Jonathan Wilk (played by Michael Constantine) is the defense attorney (Clarence Darrow). The three-hour drama has a cast of forty-four players and twenty scenes comprise the two acts.

### LINCOLN COLLEGE MANUSCRIPT EXHIBIT

A collection of more than 150 original manuscripts and documents portraying a variety of phases of American history were on display at Lincoln College, for six weeks beginning on Sunday, October 13.

One grouping contained letters of all the Presidents of the United States, together with a number of political leaders from John Hancock to Robert A. Taft and Adlai Stevenson. The original manuscript of "Dixie" by Daniel D. Emmett, and a manuscript copy of "Battle Hymn of the Republic," by Julia Ward Howe were in the section devoted to music. Generals from both sides of the Civil War were represented by letters: Robert E. Lee, Jeb Stuart, and P. G. T. Beauregard for the Confederate States and Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman, and George B. McClellan of the Union armies. Invention and industry were portrayed by letters of Robert Fulton, Eli Whitney, Charles Goodyear, Henry Ford and Wilbur Wright. Two of the rarest items were letters by Davy Crockett and Daniel Boone.

For Lincoln students there was an original playbill of Ford's Theatre for April 14, 1865, the night Lincoln was shot, and a broadside giving the

order of the Emancipator's funeral procession. The Emancipation theme was dramatized by the contrast between an original poster offering a reward for a runaway slave and letters from the Negro leaders, Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver.

The display was on loan from the collections of Mr. and Mrs. Philip D. Sang of River Forest who were introduced to visitors at the opening day reception by Lincoln College President Raymond N. Dooley. Ralph G. Newman spoke at this occasion on "The Art of Collecting."

### CIVIL WAR CONFERENCE AT GETTYSBURG

As the finale to a year-long celebration of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding Gettysburg College held a three-day conference on the Civil War, November 17-19. Allan Nevins, author and Dewitt Clinton Professor of History at Columbia University, was director of the session which was titled "The Civil War: An Emergent New America."

Nevins' lecture, "The Transition from an Unorganized to an Organized Nation," was followed by talks by five other nationally-known speakers, tours of the battlefield, showings of the cyclorama and electrical map, and a summarizing panel discussion. A feature of the program was the commemoration of the ninety-fourth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's delivery of his Gettysburg Address. These exercises were sponsored jointly by the Sons of Union Veterans and the Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania. The speaker at this ceremony was Illinois State Historian Clyde C. Walton.

The five other formal lectures were: "The Impact of the War on the American Economy," by John Kenneth Galbraith, professor of economics, Harvard University; "The Civil War and American Literature," by Daniel Aaron, professor of English language and literature, Smith College; "Political Behavior in the Civil War," by Roy F. Nichols, vice provost and dean of the graduate school, University of Pennsylvania; "The Southern Soldier as a Fighting Man," by David Donald, associate professor of history, Columbia University; and "Changes in the South," by C. Vann Woodward, professor of history, The Johns Hopkins University.

More than a dozen other authors, editors, and authorities on the Civil War attended the conference as consultants. Among these were: Bruce Catton, editor of *American Heritage* magazine; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Frank E. Vandiver, Rice Institute; Eric Goldman, Princeton University; Bayrd Still, New York University; James W. Livingood, University of Chattanooga; and Ralph G. Newman, Abraham Lincoln Bookshop, Chicago.

The exercises commemorating the anniversary of the Gettysburg Address were scheduled to be held in front of the monument which marks the site

where Lincoln stood in 1863. Rains, however, forced this session to be held in Christ Chapel on the Gettysburg campus as were all the other meetings. Walton's talk was followed by a reading of the Address by Dr. John Hope Franklin, chairman of the department of history at Brooklyn College. The text of the State Historian's address follows:

Standing beneath a serene sky, the crowd assembled on the Gettysburg battlefield ninety-four years ago, heard the last stanzas of Benjamin B. French's hymn sung by the one hundred-voice choir. One of them went:

"Great God in Heaven!  
Shall all this sacred blood be shed?  
Shall we thus mourn our glorious dead?  
O, shall the end be wrath and woe,  
The knell of Freedom's overthrow,  
A country riven?"

As if in answer to this verse, Ward Hill Lamon, Lincoln's old friend from the prairie years, rose, stepped forward, and announced simply, "The President of the United States."

And Abraham Lincoln unfolded himself from a rocking chair, manuscript in hand, and stood tall before the crowd. After short applause he began, in his high, thin, Kentucky voice, to make his dedicatory remarks. This brief address has been more widely read and more thoroughly studied than any public address by an American.

We are gathered here today on the anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. We are gathered here not only to listen again to Lincoln's familiar words, but to remember the compelling events which inspired them, and to consider what those familiar words mean to all of us nearly a century after they were first heard.

Lincoln was speaking, on November 19, 1863, in the midst of a Civil War. He was speaking at the dedication of a military cemetery, a military cemetery located on a field where four months earlier a stern and appalling battle had been fought. Not the primary speaker at the cemetery dedication, Lincoln came to Gettysburg because there was something vitally significant that he wanted to say. To Lincoln, words were weapons in the war of ideas.

Many of those in the crowd on dedication day were here because they had a son, or brother, a father or a husband, resting in a forever silent sleep beneath the rows of crosses. The occasion brings to mind the verse of Theodore O'Hara:

"On fame's eternal camping-ground, their silent tents are spread,  
And Glory guards, with solemn round, the bivouac of the dead."

To these people, particularly, Lincoln pointed his remarks, with a very human hope that his few words would soften the anguish of their bereavement. Equally important, Lincoln wanted to say to a nation torn and tormented by civil war, that the good fight was worth its tragic cost.

In direct contrast to Lincoln's words, Secretary of State William Seward's impromptu address, made on the previous evening in Gettysburg as a response to a serenading group of well-wishers, seems cruel and unforgiving. Seward said, in part,

" . . . I saw, forty years ago, that slavery was opening before this people a graveyard that was to be filled with brothers falling in mutual political combat."

"We are now near the graves of the misguided, whom we have consigned to their last resting place, with pity for their errors. . ."

No such harsh words from Lincoln, though he spoke while the war still raged. He could not be certain, as we are now, that the military events of July, 1863, had signaled the death knell of the Confederacy. Vicksburg captured and victory at Gettysburg, all in the same week! Although he had hoped for a final and decisive conquest at Gettysburg, he realized that the pendulum of success had swung at last to the North.

He was certain, too, that no matter how high the price, the victory was worth its cost, and the loss in lives and pitifully mangled bodies, in destroyed buildings, and burned fields, and in bitter, long-lived hatred was high—a national catastrophe. Yet, said Lincoln, individual liberty and the perpetuation of our democratic institutions have a value beyond any price which might be exacted. And the Union was to Lincoln the symbol of man's most noble experiment in self-regulation. In the Union Lincoln saw a mystic vision of liberty, a vision of political equality and social fraternity, a new life for the individual to lead in personal freedom and simple dignity. What more noble cause, he said, could possibly commend itself so clearly as being worthy of our deepest devotion? At certain times a man has to stand up and be counted, has to stand firm on matters of principle. What principles are more worthy of preservation than individual freedom and human dignity as expressed in the Union of the American states?

Yes, said Lincoln, whatever the price, whatever the ultimate cost, the perpetuation of these principles is worth the effort.

Lincoln spoke here, too, of the violence which is the idiot twin of political liberty. He spoke to the effect that the Union was born during the violent storm of a War of Revolution. He knew that the ideas manifested in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution had been matured only through another national conflict. Perhaps he had read the words of

an earlier American leader which suggested that the tree of liberty is best watered by the blood of patriots.

Enduring truths have always aroused the spirits of free men in their defense. We have seen that this is so through a series of global conflicts which have taken place in our own time. The security of liberty is always in danger, and our faith in the future of our nation needs constantly to be renewed. Lincoln said that conflict tests the quality of our faith; that conflict will continue to test our steadfast adherence to first principles seems obvious. Through each time of crisis this proposition has been tested, and not yet has any flaw been revealed in our basic creed.

And Lincoln said, too, that our unique political experiment was facing a severe test—the most severe test it had yet experienced. Since the Civil War the Union has passed through many good and pleasant days. It has, unhappily, passed through many bad and unpleasant days. So, too, the principle of the supremacy of federal authority in maintaining the law of the land is being challenged today, not too unlike the way Lincoln's government was challenged nearly a century ago. We can only trust that the American nation will meet this challenge in the wisdom and dignity and steadfast adherence to principle which characterized the faith of Abraham Lincoln. The responsibility of maintaining our tested and proved philosophy of government should indeed weigh heavily on us all.

It seems a happy omen for the future to notice here that the President of the United States lives upon the borders of this battlefield and cemetery. In this place the very air seems charged with the presence of history. This is a place where strong men faced great issues, where a great event helped to shape the character of American life. These fields, once torn by the passage of two mighty armies, are quiet today. Perhaps it is not too much to believe that one great American, by virtue of his surroundings, may draw from the exemplary words said here by the greatest American of us all, the wisdom and vision necessary to lead the United States toward the promised land of personal freedom, human dignity, simple justice, and universal prosperity.

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